Agency within Crevices of Subordination: Female Teacher Educators' Gendered Lived Experiences in Uganda

Lydia Namatende-Sakwa

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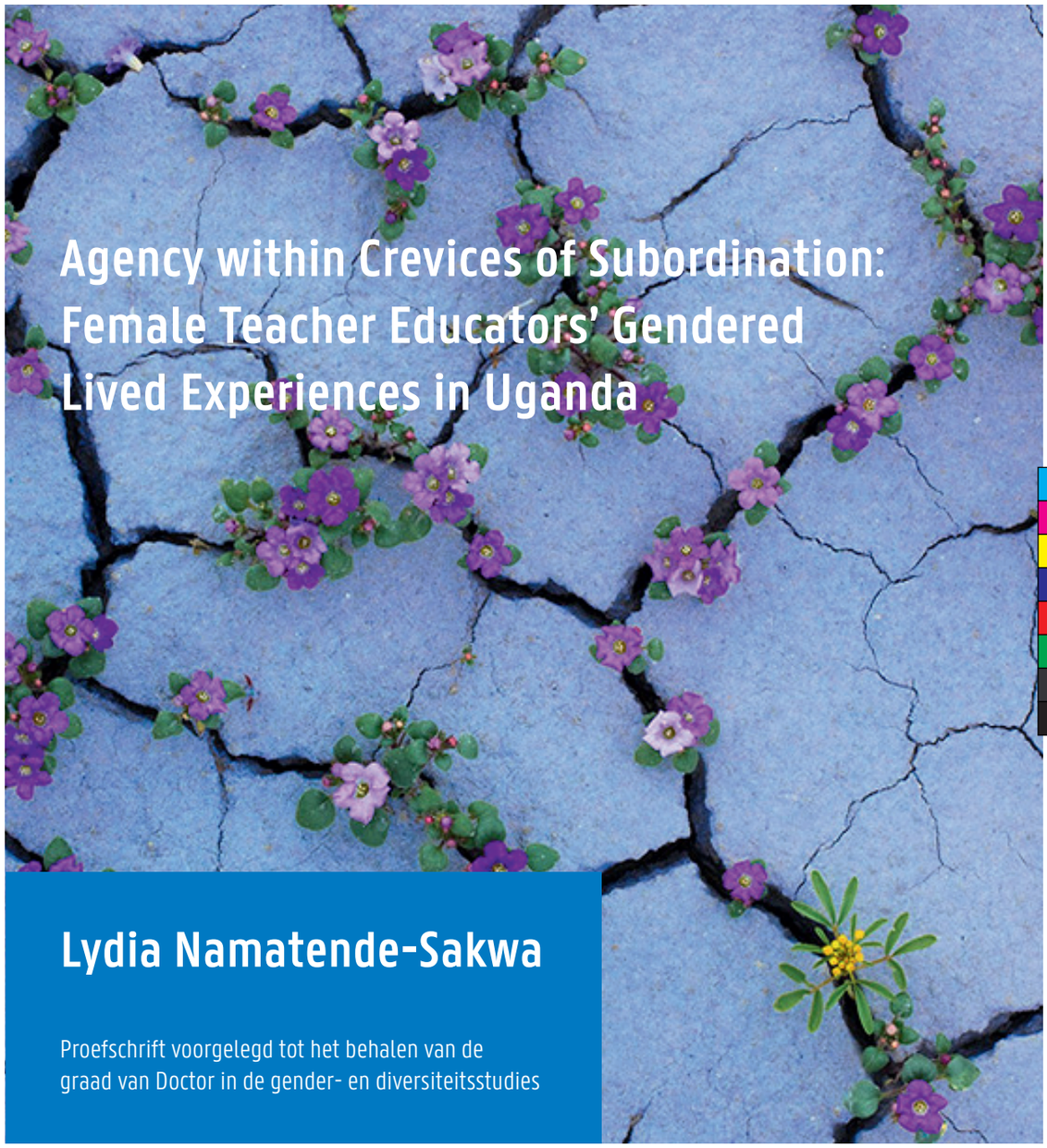

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Proefschrift voorgelegd tot het behalen van de
graad van Doctor in de gender- en diversiteitsstudies

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Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor in Gender and Diversity Studies

2016

Acknowledgements

I am glad that this project rests on the shoulders of great women and men who made it possible for me to get here. I owe gratitude to my supervisors, Prof. Dr. Chia Longman and Prof. Dr. Martin Valcke. Chia provided a space for me to think and grow my own wings as a budding researcher. She provided feedback and resources in terms of readings and conferences, which have informed this study. Most importantly, is the way in which she believed in me. As much as Chia encouraged high standards, she also recognised that I am a mother, creating possibility for me to attend to the academic but also the personal. Martin was very generous with feedback on the project, reading my study very closely, and opening my eyes to insights that I as a qualitative researcher might not have seen. He provided invaluable feedback. I am also grateful to members of my Doctoral Guidance Committee, including Prof. Stef Slembrouck, and Prof. Piet Van Avermaet from Ghent University, as well as Dr. Amanda Barton from Manchester University. I also owe much appreciation to my respondents who made time to generously share their intimate lives with me. In order to protect their privacy, I cannot mention their names. This project would not have taken place without you.

My deep gratitude to my family. To my dear mum, Ms. Eva Aliyinza, you always had big dreams for me. I know you are smiling from up above. To my father George Tasiwuuka Mwandha who set the ball rolling, believing that I would do the PhD even before I mentioned it. You picked me up each time using the exact phrases I needed to kick-start me! To my dear husband and best friend Andrew Darlington Sakwa, you have been a great pillar throughout this journey, feeling all the bumps and potholes as well as the smooth flows with me. To my dear children, George Samuel Masibo, Gabriella Eva Buteme, Gail Marie Watera, for weathering the storm, for running the race and finishing strong. I am in so much awe of you! To my brother-in-law Joseph Mutama Sakwa, your generosity surpasses all measure. You have loved our children, performing the role of mother, father, driver, cook, provider, playmate—this amidst your heavy work schedule. To my mother-in-law and my father-in-law

Mrs. Mary Sakwa and Engineer Darlington Sakwa for encouraging me, for taking care of the children, for the sumptuous meals to strength and celebrate this journey—for parenting me. To George and Sarah Sakwa, you held hands with us. Gratitude also to Rebecca Sakwa, Petua Buteme, Junior Sakwa, Mrs. Lillian Mwandha, Timothy Mwandha, Stephen Mazeemu, Innocent and Nyana Kakoma, Faith Kantono, Daniel Kirevu and Violet Kataike. To my friends, Dorothy Atuhura with whom I shared lengthy conversations about our PhDs—our lives—sharing tears and raucous laughter! To Julie and Richard Namisano, Liz Waibi, Rita Kabatunzi, Rose Nakalanzi, Teddy Negokhe, Cathy Lutaya, Lillianne Kiwanuka, Badru Dungu and Henry Sonko—for our friendship.

To my colleagues at the Centre for Research on Culture and Gender at Ghent University with whom I was privileged to work and interact: Katrien De Graeve, Tine Brouckaert, Nella Van Den Brandt, Ladan Rahbari, An Van Raemdonck, Maria Chipenembe, Amal Miri, Nina Callens, Corine Van Hellemont, Sabrina Vandevelde, Joz Motmans. And thanks to colleagues from the Department of African Languages and Cultures, especially Mina Nabirye, Giles-Maurice De Schryver, Deo Kawalya, Lurdes Rodrigues Da Silva. Maaike Goethals and Gitte Callaert for helping with lots of practical matters. To the Ugandan community in Ghent who provided the much needed destruction. Special mention goes to Halima Aliche and David Kalema. To my employers Uganda Martyrs University, for making it possible for me to take study leave. Special mention to Dr. John Kalema and Prof. Connie Masembe Ssebunga from Makerere University for generously writing my recommendations for funding.

I gratefully appreciate the financial support provided by the Special Research Fund (BOF) of Ghent University. This project would not have been possible without their financial input and support. BOF made it possible for me to concentrate fulltime on my research, and provided resources for travel for conferences, books, insurance and other facilities.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

This study is an investigation into gendered lived experiences of female teacher educators in a leading Ugandan university. I focus on the ways in which they have navigated the patriarchal gendered order in Uganda, in relation to the pervasive victim narrative used to produce women in the global South and/or Third World. In this chapter, I first reflect on how I came to focus my study on female teacher educators' lives within notions of the victim narrative. Secondly, I engage with literature challenging the monolithic victim narrative. Thirdly, I interrogate experience as a key concept for this study from whence the research questions emanate. This is followed by the context, significance, overview of research methods, and organisation of the dissertation respectively.

1.1. Kneeling to Conquer

Thinking about African woman as a group had always quickly flagged up in my mind, images of suffering, poverty, victimhood, oppression, abuse—and a barrage more! As such, when I first designed this doctoral project, my focus had been on how to integrate gender equality into the curriculum, specifically the teacher education curriculum in Uganda. Indeed, I framed questions in this regard, informed by the conviction that integrating gender equality into teacher education would "empower" girls and women in Uganda, whom I believed *needed* empowering. My questions revolved around female teacher educators' understandings of gender equality, their own teacher education in this regard, and suggestions of possible content/issues around gender to be addressed in teacher education. I also posed a question on their experiences of gender inequality in Uganda. In posing this specific question, I had intended to elicit stories about their suffering, oppression, and abuse as African women. I had expected a pity party in which the women would feed into the victim

narrative that had framed my own understandings of women in Uganda. This would then justify the inclusion of gender equality into teacher education as a panacea to empower women in Uganda.

Indeed, the narratives did not disappoint, as the women intimated the gendered trajectories punctuated with oppression—of forced marriages prompted by rewards of bride price, greater share of household chores, low teacher expectations, sexual harassment by teachers and so on. However, the stories were also embedded in rhetorical questions in which these women interrogated the status quo. I am reminded of Jay, one of the female teacher educators, who inwardly questioned her father's differential treatment of her brothers whose tuition he paid, leaving her mother to scrape in search of Jay's tuition. Rather than confront her father, as would an "empowered" girl with "free" speech, Jay chose to work hard in school in order to remake her reality. Nonetheless, cognizant of this gendered injustice, she inwardly questioned why her father treated her brothers—in her works: "*nga ba katonda* (like gods)…to parents *gwe olimukazi* (you are JUST a woman) to get married and that is it." Across the narratives in my preliminary work was the idea as one of the women put it—of "kneeling in order to conquer." In other words, it was through surrendering power—acting like "mere" women and/or enacting harmless humility, that the women found spaces to remake their realities. Indeed one woman acknowledged that she did not lose anything in behaving as expected of a woman, in order to fulfil her interests. In retrospect then, these women were not the victims I had taken them for. Far from passive victims, the women had inwardly and actively engaged and interrogated the gendered order, well aware that head-on collision with the powers-that-be would have been counterproductive in re-shaping their realties. In that moment however, lacking a theoretical framing to inform the pervasive idea of kneeling-to-conquer, which saturated the women's stories, I felt paralyzed. Yet, this idea stuck with stuck me. As Andrews articulately explains, "when for whatever reason our experiences do not match the master narratives with which we are familiar…the challenge then becomes one of finding meaning outside of the emplotments which are ordinarily available" (2004, p. 1).

In grappling to frame some of my preliminary findings then, I joined a reading group through which I read many scholars. Michel Foucault and Judith Butler were most fascinating, ushering me into poststructuralism. Foucault's theorization of power, which I explain in detail within my theoretical framework as well as his troubling of common-sense notions of knowledge, unsettled the fundamentals I had held onto as simply logical. Foucault's theorization of power, interwoven with notions of agency, discourse, and subjectivity gave me the head start to reading about other feminist scholars whose work engaged with these concepts. It is within this journey

that I chanced upon Saba Mahmood's *Politics of Piety*, which was a revelation to dynamics within the idea of kneeling to conquer. In this book, Mahmood (2005) demonstrates how Muslim women in Egypt found agency and/or the capacity to act, within religion regardless of the pervasive construction of religion as an instrument of their subordination. She problematized the victimhood script to which non-Western women were reduced to, for enacting forms of agency outside the Western norm. Mahmood (2005) argued that agency to act in ways that shape realities can also be located in inhabiting structures of domination. This resounded the idea of kneeling-to-conquer among my respondents, who had deployed and/or inhabited the instruments of their subjugation in order to shape their realities.

In reading Mahmood and other feminist post-colonial scholars (Abu-Lughod, 2013; Sensoy & Marshall, 2010; Spivak, 1988), I recognized that the problematic victim narrative had informed my own reading of women in my context, whom I had been convinced, needed empowering. In hindsight, my idea of empowerment—a problematic notion within poststructuralism for its humanist moorings (Ellsworth, 1989; Gore, 1992; Gore, 1999; St. Pierre, 2000), had been informed by representations of relations in mostly American movies and novels which recycle familiar storylines that ultimately construct Western femininity as free and unconstrained (Bradford, 2007; Sensoy & Marshall, 2010). My perception had been clouded by notions of the global North as "the privileged location of agency and progress, and the South, a space characterized by coercion, violence, oppression, and subjugation" (Madhok, Phillips, & Wilson, 2013, p. 2). The power of such master narratives as illuminated in Bamberg and Andrews (2004)'s edited collection, *Considering Counter-narratives: Narrating, Resisting, Making Sense*, derives from their internalization in ways that makes them a blue-print for normative experience.

Indeed, I cannot rule out the extent to which my experiences—my "I slots" as Margrit Shildrick (as cited in Harcourt, 2009, p. 7) engagingly calls them, remain bound to normative notions of empowerment. Indeed, as Bamberg explains, "speakers constantly invoke master narratives and that many, possibly even most…remain inaccessible to our conscious recognition and transformation" (2004, p. 361)**.** I am situated as a Black, Ugandan, Christian, female in her late thirties, heterosexual, married woman with three children. I was educated in Uganda, having done my bachelor's degree and first postgraduate degree in the country. Yet, I have also lived in the West for the past eight years, where I pursued a Master of Science degree in the United Kingdom, a doctorate in education in the United States of America, and, I am currently pursuing a PhD in Belgium. While I did go to a prestigious affluent catholic secondary school, for example, I had previously studied in a rural catholic secondary school, which attracted students from less affluent families. This gave me access to

differential social class relations accentuated when my father, a retired agricultural economist, slid in and then eventually out of privileges attached to high status jobs. This affected the family as we moved from a prestigious neighbourhood and chauffeur-driven Benzes to eventually taking public transport, which we could ill afford at some point in our lives.

These slippages through riches to rags trajectory meant that I intersected with people from divergent social structures, sharing the benefit of years of association with their languages and cultures. I also have the advantage of having lived most of my life in Uganda, all too well aware of traditional expectations for proper behaviour in the traditional and more liberal spaces as a young girl, single woman and now a married woman. These threads of a culturally tangled identity should have marked me as "authentic", "indigenous", "native." However, while I cannot claim "authentic" global South (or North) experience as such, my experience as a child of the "soil" provided access to spoken and unspoken contextual meanings and shared experiential understandings. Yet, it was only in donning specific lenses that I recognized resistance within my context for what it was. Indeed, scholars such as Aguilar (1981) and Messerschmidt (1981) conclude, "the extent to which anyone is an authentic insider is questionable... The loci along which we are aligned with or set apart from those whom we study are multiple and in flux. Factors such as education, gender…class, race…may at different times outweigh the cultural identity we associate with insider or outsider status"(as cited in Narayan, 1993, p. 672). As such Narayan (1993) urges for a rethinking of "insider" and "outsider" as stable categories. This notwithstanding, studying my context with female teacher educators like myself, gave me a head start in making cultural readings of their agentic scripts, recognizing that "given the diversity within cultural domains and across groups, even the most experienced of 'native' anthropologists cannot know everything about his or her own society (Aguilar, 1981 as cited in Narayan, 1993, p. 679).

In understanding the common thread within the women's narratives—kneeling-to-conquer, I modified my study to focus specifically on their gendered lived experiences, in order to research non-normative modes of resistance in my cultural context. While liberal notions of resistance to the gender order are extant in my context, they are also pervasively shunned upon as Western imports, which have not necessarily delivered on their promises. Indeed, identifying as a feminist within a myriad of circles, attracts name calling as a man-hater, or bitter woman as have radical feminists like Dr. Sylvia Tamale whose radical position once earned her the label as "worst woman of the year" (Bennett, 2011). Feminism as a discourse conjures up for many Ugandans, images of man haters and/or angry, bitter, vindictive women as indeed it does elsewhere (Harcourt, 2009; Lather, 1991; McClintock, 1999; Phipps,

2014). Yet, liberal notions of resistance continue to ring loud and are pervasively cited by teachers and students alike within education, mainly through equal opportunities discourses, as the only way of resisting gender regimes.

My intention here is not to question the profound transformation that liberal and/or normative discourses of freedom and emancipation have enabled in women's lives around the world, but to draw attention to the ways in which these presuppositions have come to be naturalized in scholarship on gender. The women's idea of kneeling-to-conquer which departs from liberal ideas of agency and/ "empowerment", troubles this grand narrative, which has informed the victim narrative used to produce Black and Brown women, whose agentic scripts deviate from the norm. Such logics have informed not only informed UN rhetoric on gender and development (Harcourt, 2009; Phipps, 2014), but also circulate even within education (Dingo, 2012).

1.2. Unsettling a Monolithic Female Victim Narrative

The construction of women specifically in the global South as inherently victims has been problematized by feminist postcolonial scholars (Abu-Lughod, 2013; Harcourt, 2009; Mahmood, 2005). In "Under Western Eyes", Chandra Talpade Mohanty criticizes the discursive homogeneous construction of women in non-Western countries as "poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, and victimized" (Mohanty, 1984, p. 337). This she argues, overlooks the complexity, diversity, and multiplicity of these women in terms of class, ethnic, and racial contexts to which they belong. It also produces dichotomous oppositional differences implicated in stratifying into a binary—Western women, who are universally liberated, enjoy equality, as well as control over their own bodies and sexuality, and, are also superior, intelligent, and educated, vis-à-vis "Third World women," who are universally oppressed, inferior, uneducated, victimized, and hence in need of some kind of salvation. Phipps (2014) adds that a victim script not only homogenises and abrogates the agency of non-western women, it also erases their voices and subjectivities, masking their actual concerns and reproducing relations of subjugation which provide ammunition for what Cole (2012) has referred to as "the White saviour industrial complex."

In looking at the discursive practice in the production of knowledge, Mohanty (1984) deconstructed some Western feminist texts that define women of the Third World as archetypal victims. Hosken and Lindsay's text for example, focuses on the relationship between human rights and female genital mutilation in Africa and the Middle East. The text, according to Mohanty, portrays all African and Middle Eastern women as victims and the men as subjects-who-perpetrate-violence against the

women. Mohanty criticizes this dual system that traps people in the Third World into two homogenous groups, sustaining the working of power relations in what Foucault terms as the "juridico-discursive" model of power, which presupposes an either/or mode of negotiating power through resistance *or* subversion. This type of Western feminism forecloses other modes of negotiating power, inscribing a rubric and/or grand narrative. This then reduces subjects who enact resistance outside the norm to victims/helpless/incapable.

Further, Spivak in her essay, "Can the Subalterns Speak?" decries the "epistemic violence" done by such grand narratives, which categorize the world, silencing, rendering invisible, unintelligible and/or precarious those who exceed the categories. She argues that while Postcolonial critics, like many feminists, strive to give silenced others a voice, even the most benevolent effort reproduces the very silencing it aims give voice. In illuminating this, Spivak (1988) points to the British outlawing of *sati*, the Hindu practice of burning a widow on her husband's funeral pyre. While this intervention saved some lives and possibly gave women some form of free choice, it also served to secure British power in India, also accentuating British "civilization" vis-à-vis Indian "backwardness." Hindu culture was as such silenced by outlawing and denying its legitimacy.

The whole idea of locating women's empowerment is premised on histories of discounting possibility of empowerment in minority groups and/or non-Western women. Discourses of empowerment and/or agency as Madhok, Phillips and Wilson affirm, "are heavily saturated with associations linking them to racialized as well as gendered hierarchies and a long history of attachment to only certain kinds of persons and actions" (2013, p. 3). Indeed Saba Mahmood (2005) argues that some feminist scholarship is implicated in making agency synonymous with liberation, implying that that the capacity for agency is experienced only in resistance *or* subversion. Such polarizing notions of agency are based on assumptions that the measure of one's agency is asymmetrical to the coercion exercise, with more agency wielded when less coercion is exercised. This conceptualization of agency is implicated in thinking of subjects, in Kimberly Hutchings' terminology, as either "choosers" or "losers"—"that we are either the free agents of liberal fantasy or the oppressed victims of coercion" (as cited in Madhok et al., 2013, p. 3). Presumptions of either agent or victim/oppressed disregard that agency is made possible within conditions, some of which are more constraining than others. It is such presumptions of agency, which have informed the victim narrative used to produce non-Western women's agentic scripts, which do not fit into the resistance/subversion and/or agent/victim binary (Harcourt, 2009; Hutchings, 2013; Madhok, 2013; Mahmood, 2005).

Mohanty (1984) attempts to contextualize the complexity of women in the non-Western world, specifically in regard to cultural practices that are viewed as universally oppressive when examined by Western eyes. She mentions, for instance, that it is inaccurate to generalize veiling in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan, and India as a way of controlling women's sexuality and/or necessarily oppressing them. She gives an example that veiling in Iran was taken up divergently in different historical moments. During the Revolution of 1979, for example, some women used the veil to show solidarity with their working-class sisters in street demonstrations. In the post-Revolution period, on the other hand, the Iranian regime forced veiling as part of a mandatory religious law. Therefore, the construction of veiling in ways that produce all veiled women as oppressed victims denies the existence of veiled women who choose to veil for their own religious convictions, are agentic in other areas of their lives, and do not consider themselves as powerless or oppressed. This sort of worldview of women in Muslim society not only victimizes all Muslim women but also undermines their on-going struggles, efforts, and achievements.

The victim narrative has informed the construction of sub-Saharan African women largely through cultural practices that are deemed oppressive from a Western perspective (Khamasi, 2015; LaTosky, 2015; Longman & Bradley, 2015). Hilber, Kentera, Redmonda, Mertenb, Bagnol, Lowa, and Garsidee (2012) for example, focus on vaginal practices in sub-Saharan Africa providing a review of literature in this regard. Hilber et al. (2012) assert that studies about sexuality in Africa tend to frame these practices as necessarily oppressive. However, the authors demonstrate that such practices are in fact, more complex, and have continuously been re-invented in time and place, and used to negotiate social, economic and relationship challenges in women's lives. Indeed, Tamale (2005), researching the practice of labia elongation as sexual initiation among the Baganda of Uganda, problematizes the attempts by the WHO to condemn it as a harmful cultural practice—lumping it together with female genital mutilation procedures that pose health hazards to women. Tamale's findings suggest that the practice of elongating the labia minora serves three main purposes: "the extended labia enhances the erotic experience of both the male and the female…Secondly, elongated labia serve as a kind of self-identifier for Baganda women…The third function is a purely aesthetic one" (Tamale, 2005, p. 27). These findings sharply contrast WHO's definition of the practice and its victim-hood associations.

In writing from a pedagogical perspective, Sensoy and Marshall (2010) problematize the proliferation of books in the West since September 2011, about the plight of Muslim women and girls in South-East Asia and the Middle East. The researchers give examples of best-selling authors like *Reading Lolita in Tehran*

(Nafisi, 2004), *My Forbidden Face: Growing up under the Taliban* (Latifa, 2002), and *Three Cups of Tea* (Mortenson & Relin, 2006). These stories they argue, produced for children and young adults, which feature Muslim girls in anguish, have increasingly been marketed to and consumed by teachers, librarians and parents. Sensoy and Marshall (2010) specifically focus on Deborah Ellis's *The Breadwinner*, a novel written for adolescent readers, about a Muslim girl in Taliban-led Afghanistan. Like the other books in the list, it features a young heroine stuck in a violent, impoverished Islamic context from which she yearns to save herself and her family, to partake of freedoms embodied by the West—rationality, autonomy, self-regulation, freedom, safety, prosperity, and education. Such texts as Bradford affirms, "are marketed in a way that constructs the female Muslim subject as a unified, oppressed figure" (2007, p. 49). Ellis' *Breadwinner* and similar storylines, as such, rely "on colonial discourses to represent girls and women in the East as poor, uneducated, constrained…and in need of rescue from those in the West" (Sensoy & Marshall, 2010, pp. 295-296).

The construction of women specifically in the global South as inherently victims as Harcourt argues, feeds "into racist stereotypes of women in 'developing' countries needing to be rescued from dire poverty, unhealthy lifestyles and prejudicial cultures" (2009, p. 4). These constructions of women are informed by neo-colonial and neoliberal ideologies (Harcourt, 2009; Madhok et al., 2013; Spivak, 1988), justifying moralizing discourses and paternalistic practices through which organizations in the First World "help" the "oppressed" within the Third World—in what Debroah Mindry has labelled, "politics of virtue" (2001, p. 1207). This has then produced the global North as international protectors and/or watchdogs within human rights discourses, charged with liberating "the 'Third World Woman'…whose lack of freedom is implicitly compared to the liberation of her First World counterparts" (Gradskova & Sanders, 2015, p. 2). Dingo convincingly affirms that in this type of "gendered *global* governmentality", "women's actual needs and voices disappear" (2012, p. 29).

My study, which focuses on women's experiences in navigating and/or resisting culturally available subject positions, contributes to a growing body of knowledge around locating agency from within social cultural relations of domination (Abu-Lughod, 2013; Hutchings, 2013; LaTosky, 2015; Mahmood, 2005; Spivak, 1988; Tamale, 2005). These studies have challenged Western feminist scholarship on the Middle East, which, having analysed agency from a Western perspective, then portray non-Western women as passive and submissive to male oppression. The ideal woman and/or model feminist, according to Sensoy and Marshall, "is crafted on the ideals associated with white, middle-class, heterosexual notions of femininity…the ideal 'Third World girl' speaks her mind, circulates outdoors, thinks for herself, is

emotionally and physically strong—markers of power embodied by the West (education, 'freedom', and the right to dress as one chooses)" (2010, p. 303). This then casts the embodiment of Western girl power discourses as the stable possibility for empowerment, essentially foreclosing any other feminisms and/or emancipatory projects. It is in deploying this Western perspective that agentic scripts in which women inhabit hegemonic cultural practices, while also redeploying them for their own agenda are overlooked, rendering the women as victims.

The breadth of such studies, although extensive, has largely focused on the Middle Eastern contexts, within the realm of religion and/or Islam. While Longman (2008) for example departs from these studies by examining women's lived experiences, her respondents are white Orthodox Jewish women, and her focus is on the ways in which these women navigate secular work and home spaces within a religious framework. While some feminist scholars have focused on Black women's agency, it is within the African American context (Collins, 2000; Hooks, 2012; Hooks, 1994; Lorde, 1983) and South African women (Cooper, 1999; McClintock, 1999), largely around issues of race. Scholarship on agency and/or resistance to gender order in sub-Saharan Africa have largely focused on cultural practices such as vaginal practices (Harcourt, 2009; Longman & Bradley, 2015; Sserembe, 2012; Tamale, 2005) and other "exotic" practices such as lip-plates (LaTosky, 2015), cosmology, spirits and rituals (Brinkman, 2007; Van Beek, 2007). While such studies provide insights into the ways in which women and men navigate patriarchy within patriarchal cultural structures, their focus on exotic rather than "regular" and/or "routine" non-Western lives, "exoticizes" these bodies, casting them as "worthy" of scholarly attention (Harcourt, 2009), and reinstating power relations in which Western bodies produce knowledge about "other" bodies.

This notwithstanding, some studies have indeed challenged the notion of powerlessness in regard to African women and specifically Ugandan women (Bantebya & Keniston, 2006; Decker, 2014; Mbire-Birungi, 1999; Obbo, 1976; Tripp, 2000). Bantebya and Keniston's insightful study provides a historically informed analysis of the barriers to women's participation in market economy. The researchers illuminate an enduring Uganda ideal of domestic virtue model. They highlight the cultural opposition faced by women seen through this model, as primarily domestic workers to be subservient to their husbands (and all men). While this study disturbs the monolithic victim narrative, it does not carve out the women's agentic scripts. As such, it leaves liberal humanist notions of agency, which have been used to re-inscribe the victim narrative unexamined and/or intact. Tripp's (2000) study traces the growth and struggle of the Ugandan women's movement to achieve autonomy while also advocating rights and elevation of the position of women. While the study provides

insights into collective struggles, it obscures their individual stories. Further, Decker (2014) examines Ugandan women's complex and paradoxical relationship to Idi Amin's military state. The book illuminates the opportunities as well as challenges for women in this era. While some women assumed positions of political power becoming successful business entrepreneurs, others experienced the trauma of watching their loved ones suffer the pinch of militarism. Although the book illuminates women's experiences, its focus is on the complex ways in which gender informed and was indeed informed by militaristic ideology. The study illuminates stories that illustrate the difficult choices made by women to protect their families in the face of war. It concludes that women are not victims of militarism and, that they deploy various strategies to mediate violence. Yet the location of these enactments of agency continue to situate African, specifically Ugandan women within spaces outside "normalcy", in that sense flagging the dichotomy between the West and non-West.

My study makes an important contribution to this work then, by speaking back to normative liberal assumptions about empowerment from an African, specifically Ugandan perspective. I provide insights into some women's lived and/or "real" day-to-day experiences, also illuminating their diverse trajectories, as they slide across positions of powerfulness and/or powerlessness in navigating the gender regime. The idea of a trajectory is useful is illuminating intersections and/or parallels within Western and non-Western women's realities. Indeed Mohanty (2003) affirms that the implicit self-representation of Western women as secular and liberated is a partial picture of Western women, whose on-going struggle is illuminated by feminist political activism in the West. She explains for example, that statistics show that women in Canada still earn 30 per cent less than men do. She also adds that domestic violence, sexual exploitation, and female human trafficking have become urgent issues throughout North America. This is reiterated by Sensoy and Marshall, who problematize the positioning of Western women and girls as always already more feminist—free, independent, liberated, empowered, unconstrained by patriarchy—which in reality is not the case, as "power elides the lived realities of many girls/women in the West" (2010, p. 302). Mohanty problematizes the binary positioning of the women in the Third World against the women in the West which disregards the complexity, diversity, and multiform extant in both worlds.

In thinking about the problematic portrayal of non-Western women within pedagogic texts, Sensoy and Marshall (2010) draw attention to the paucity of materials available to teach about the Middle East from a critical perspective (Bradford, 2007; Crocco, 2005). Teachers and librarians in North American schools largely use texts like *The Breadwinner* as instructional resources, which as the researchers explain, provide a springboard for teaching about the "real" lives of

Muslim girls and women. The ways in which such texts and the discourses therein travel across contexts and international borders makes them conduits of a larger socializing apparatus. Like other cultural texts produced for youth, *The Breadwinner* as Sensoy and Marshall explain, "can be read as a gendered societal curricula (Banks, 1996; Cortés, 2000) and a public pedagogy (Giroux 1997; Kellner and Share 2005; Steinberg and Kincheloe 1997)" (2010, p. 298). Indeed, texts for youth have long been vehicles for transmitting colonial discourses (Bradford, 2007; Friedrich, 2014; Kaomea, 2000). This is corroborated by Sensoy and Marshall, citing some Postcolonial theorists (Bhabha 1994; Mohanty 2006; Narayan 1995; Said 1978) who have argued "that colonialism relies on the (re)telling of the colonized stories by the colonizer" (2010, p. 298). In other words, it is through circulating the victim narrative in constructing non-Western women that the narrative sticks, becoming stable, self-evident, and unquestionable.

From an education perspective, this raises questions regarding the kinds of stories, and narratives that circulate in classrooms about others. I recognize as well articulated by Sensoy and Marshall that there is "no one text, story or narrative that could unproblematically represent 'others'" (2010, p. 308). I also acknowledge that there are indeed oppressed and/or victimized non-Western women. This notwithstanding, I argue that the production and re-inscription of a monolithic victim non-Western woman is problematic. Indeed, Mohanty (2003) questions the hegemony of Western scholarship in producing and circulating texts that emphasize monolithic terms such as "Third World women," which risk a discursive colonization that not only overlooks pluralism but also inhibits the cause of those women rendered invisible.

My study contributes to this field by documenting storied trajectories that can inform teacher education, providing alternate discourses about resistance of gendered regimes. As a teacher educator, I take education as my entry point to illuminate experiences of female teacher educators in order to provide insights into realities that exceed the victim narrative. As such, I reject the binary representations of the Western subject as agentic and non-Western one as devoid of agency. Drawing on their life stories made it possible for me to trace the female teacher educators' lives as they evolved over time through home, school and career and/or workspaces. This provided insights into their idiosyncratic and complicated trajectories, as they shifted between powerfulness and powerlessness within the Ugandan socio-cultural context. Indeed Cole recommends "the storying of lived experience…as a means of challenging dominant discourses which can construct and other individuals and groups" (2009, p. 563).

I emphasize the lived and/or embodied gendered experiences recognizing as well articulated by Langellier and Peterson (2004) that before "narrative is conceived or represented, it is lived through the body as meaningful" (2004, p. 9, as cited in Heavy, 2015, p. 429). As reiterated by other scholars within the narrative tradition, stories are therefore lived and understood through the body (Harcourt, 2009; Langellier, 2001; Sparkes & Smith, 2011). The female body as Harcourt adds, is "a site of both normalization and resistance where social norms of being female are inscribed on the body…as sites of social experience and political resistance" (2009, p. 17). Embodied experience is as such at the core of what it means to live as male and/or female. As such, the female teacher educators' stories are anchored to and/or constrained by the material reality of their female bodies as source, topic and instrument of the narratives (Heavy, 2015). The stories they construct in my study come out of their gendered bodies and as such, are based on their lived, embodied experiences as women in a situated context, and, are interpreted through the filter of the lived, embodied experience of the researcher who perceives of them as women. My study specifically focuses on "marginalised" embodied female narratives in Uganda, in order to unsettle the monolithic victim female subject by highlighting resistance and/or navigation of cultural scripts.

Marginalized experiences have been defined by Stone-Mediatore as "kinds of experience that are systematically obscured or omitted in culturally dominant representations of the world" (1998, p. 32). Such narratives are marginalised in the sense that they are on the fringes within mainstream discourse on gender. As such, women are dominantly produced as powerless, discounting the multiplicity in their lives within conditions in which power relations constantly shift, rendering them at one time more powerful, and at other times less powerful. Women's multiple and contradictory experiences are then "drowned out", eclipsed by victim narratives, which have historically secured their subordination, overshadowing discourses of resistance and subversion to patriarchal arrangements.

I specifically focused on gendered lived experiences of female teacher educators in a Ugandan university. I listened to their diverse voices, and experiences. Their lived experiences and the discourses therein, made visible narratives of resistance, subversion, negotiation, and complicity to gender regimes within the Ugandan society. The complexity in these marginalised narratives and discourses can inform teacher education in Uganda, in ways that hinge on women's lived experiences, rather than employ common and historically embedded representations of women from the global South as always already and *only* victims. The use of "real" stories about "real" women in Uganda to teach about empowerment for example, is

likely to dispel the idea that gender equality is a Western import (Hemmings, 2011; Tamale, 2011).

In proceeding with the study, I turn to an engagement with "experience", a key concept in my study of female teacher educators' lived experiences. Working within a post structural frame, which I explain later on, obliges that I engage with the controversial scholarship around this concept, from which I also derived my research questions.

1.3. Interrogating "Experience"

While I believe that unpacking these marginal experiential narratives is a useful endeavour as already belaboured, I recognize the questions raised by some feminist postcolonial and post structural scholars around the idea of experience (Kruks, 2014; Mohanty, 1982; Oksala, 2014; Scott, 1991; Weedon, 1997). Most of these questions are in response to Joan Scott (1991)'s important essay "The Evidence of Experience", arguably "one of the most influential contributions to the dismissal of first person accounts of experience in feminist theory and politics" (Oksala, 2014, p. 388). Scott challenged the idea of appealing to one's experience as evidence of one's theoretical or political claims, given its subjective apprehension of reality. Additionally, she argued that marginal experience narratives also obscure and unwittingly perpetuate discursive processes that construct experiencing subjects. In other words, Scott problematized marginal experience narratives for taking up, rather than challenging the workings of the representational system and its histories in subject construction, thus reproducing oppressive terms. Additionally, in rendering identity construction based on experience as incontestable, self-evident, and unquestionable, the idea of experience precludes inquiry into processes of subject-construction. In this way Scott argues, female experience becomes the ontological foundation of feminist identity, politics and history, overlooking questions regarding the discursively constructed nature of experience.

The problematization of women's subjective and/or personal experience is also linked to exclusivity of a collective and/or universal female experience embodied in White, middle-class female experience (Harris, 1990; Oksala, 2014). Experience, previously regarded by second wave feminists as "key to developing 'sisterhood' and building women's collective resistance to subordination" (Kruks, 2014, p. 75), eventually became a site for critique in the 1980s as "women's experience de facto stood for the experiences of only a certain subgroup of privileged (white, middle class, heterosexual) women" (Kruks, 2014, p. 75). Female experience in this sense is

theoretically problematic, because it risks re-inscribing oppressive power relations that feminists seek to disrupt.

Feminist theorists, stirred on by "poststructuralist insights into the constitutive role of discourse, advocated the need to reorient feminist theory toward an analysis of discourses and their political effects and away from all fixed and naturalized identities" (Oksala, 2014, p. 389). Scott's essay then, was not only an argument for the importance of examining discourses in order to understand how they position subjects and construct their experiences. She also advocated an erasure of women's personal experiential accounts from feminist analyses, adding that "if experience was not so deeply imbricated in our narratives, we should abandon the notion altogether" (Scott, 1992, p. 37, as cited in Oksala, 2014, p. 389). Post structural feminists therefore began to emphasize the discursively constituted character of women's subordination, increasingly dismissing the appeal to "experience as both politically dangerous and methodologically naïve" (Kruks, 2014, p. 75).

However, in an argument to "retrieve experience", Oksala (2014) argues that the discursive constitution of experience does not falsify and/or negate the significance of women's experiential accounts of the world. As she affirms, "the evidence of experience is not epistemically infallible—but it is nevertheless capable of being veridical" (Oksala, 2014, p. 394). In speaking to this, Haraway (1988) implicates experience in her valorisation of situated knowledges as a feminist measure of "objectivity." She decries the idea of objectivity and/or in her words—infinite vision, as an illusion—a god trick. Feminist objectivity according to Haraway "is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence…It allows us to become answerable for what we learn how to see" (1988, p. 583). Haraway's argument for situated and embodied knowledge(s), speaks directly, challenging Scott (1991)' disregard for experience due to its subjective apprehension of knowledge. Sandra Harding's (1991) feminist standpoint theory also foregrounds knowledge situated in the material lives of women as legitimate given that it is grounded in the realities of women's lives.

Rather than dispose of experience therefore, Oksala urges that "what we would really need to ask is how experience can provide evidence that contests the dominant conceptual schemas" (2014, p. 394). This highlights the idea that while experience can never completely disentangle from language and/or discourse, they are not coextensive. As such, we must recognize the slippages and/or excesses—the dissonances and/or in Oksala's words, the minimal non-conceptual/non-discursive aspect of experience, which render experience as providing "a legitimate source of challenging sexist discourses and oppressive conceptual schemas" (2014, p. 395). Women's experiences therefore, although constructed through patriarchal discourses,

are not completely derivative and/or reducible to these discourses. As a rejoinder, Kruks is critical that to "see" all experiences through a discursive lens is to establish a "new 'foundationalism': that of discourse" (2014, p. 77), reducing feminist analysis to discourse, and yet, power and resistance take place at diverse sites. In foregrounding the epistemological and political importance of experience, Oksala (2014) sets out not to find essential commonalities in women's embodied experiences in order to identify some unitary essential core. Rather, she urges that "we must engage in a critical study of our experiences in order to identify the fractures—those aspects of experience that break with normative femininity, naturalized identity and the culturally scripted accounts of female experience" (2014, p. 399).

In cognizance of this, I take a stance on experience that neither naturalizes nor reduces it to discourse, but considers the complexities, tensions and contradictions of lived experience which are contingent upon both contextual, cultural as well as global practices. Recognizing therefore, that experiences are at once idiosyncratic, and socially constructed, I focus on both marginal experience narratives, as well as discursive mechanisms that frame and/or make such narratives and/or stories possible/intelligible. This is a useful approach in enabling a focus on both discourse as constitutive, as well as apprehend experience from point of view of the subject that is constituted.

To this end, the study is guided by the following research questions:

i) What stories do female teacher educators in a Ugandan university narrate to demonstrate their gendered lived experiences?

ii) What discourses do these women invoke, deploy and/or enact in talking about gender in their lived experiences? What are their social effects?

iii) How are gendered relations of domination and subordination reproduced and/or resisted in existing socio-cultural forms of interaction?

In the next section, I situate the study within the socio-cultural context in which it was conducted. The context provides insights into norms concerning education, marriage, workload and culture, referenced specifically in chapters 4, 5 and 6, which focus on women's stories, social discourses and resistance and/or complicity to norms respectively. This is followed by a discussion of the significance in which I explain the potential contribution of the study within both a global and local perspective. I then provide an overview of the research methods used in the study. The chapter ends with a section explaining the organization of the rest of the dissertation.

1.4. Context of the Study

Uganda is a landlocked country in Eastern Africa with a population of approximately 40 million (World Population Review, 2015). Uganda's economy is primarily based on agriculture, with over 70% of the working population employed in the sector (UBOS, 2011). The availability of social services is limited and living conditions poor (Omagor, Atim, Okot, Kiryahika, & Eron, 2001). Uganda's formal education system adopts a four tier educational model. This has seven years of primary education (ages 6-12), followed by four years of ordinary level secondary education (13-16), two years of advanced level secondary education (17-19), and then the tertiary level (Muhanguzi, Bennett, & Muhanguzi, 2011). Each level is nationally examined and certificates are awarded. The population is multi-ethnic, comprising four ethnic groups, over 52 tribes and languages with diverse cultures. Interwoven within these cultures, are "common strands of gender inequality rooted in patriarchal beliefs" (Mirembe & Davies, 2001, p. 402). Indeed, women and girls have traditionally been constructed as subservient to men, which is reflected through practices like bride price, polygamy, and intergenerational marriage, which structure gender relations (Bantebya & Keniston, 2006; Kaleeba & Willimore, 1991; Obbo, 1995; Wyrod, 2008). These gender discrepancies are reproduced and reinforced in pervasive gendered division of labour both in homes, and at the work place. The school curriculum is also fraught with gendered patterns in subject choice, performance and authorship of textbooks (Barton & Sakwa, 2012; Mugumya, 2004; Namatende-Sakwa & Longman, 2013).

This notwithstanding, Uganda, like a majority of countries in the world, has shown trends towards parity at tertiary level "with the number of women enrolling in tertiary institutions growing almost twice as that of men over the last four decades" (UNESCO, 2012, p. 77). This gradual shift in female enrolment has been attributed to changing societal and familial attitudes towards girls' education, as well as government policies, most notably, affirmative action policy. This policy also referred to as the 1.5 point scheme, was introduced in 1990 as an incentive to increase the number of female undergraduate entrants into public universities by adding an extra 1.5 points to all girls (Onsango, 2009). As such, women in Uganda have reached parity with men in terms of earning Bachelor's degrees, and, they have an edge over men when it comes to Master's degrees. However, this trend is reversed at the PhD level where men have the advantage (Kwesiga, 1993). Additionally, even at postgraduate level, women gravitate strongly towards humanities and social sciences.

Global patterns attest to women as the main beneficiaries of expansion in higher education, with female enrolment growing almost twice as that of men.

However, this has not "always translated into enhanced career opportunities, including opportunities to use their doctorates in the field of research" (UNESCO, 2012, p. 74), which is dominated by men, who also dominate university teaching positions even in Uganda (Kwesiga, 1993; Muhwezi, 2003). Muhwezi (2003) explains for example, that as of December 2001, Makerere University, the oldest and largest university in Uganda "had 1053 faculty, of these, only 0.26 per cent were females. Other Universities had 767 faculty in the same period and females comprised about 2.18 percent" (Muhwezi, 2003, p. 20). Women are also less likely than "their male counterparts to move into school level management positions" (UNESCO, 2012, p. 102). This is also evident within education leadership positions in Uganda (Brown, 1996; Sperandio & Kagoda, 2010). Gender disparities are also evident in the number of female vis-à-vis male teachers at different levels, with more female teachers at pre-primary compared to primary, secondary and tertiary levels where there are more males. Women continue to be faced with barriers to job opportunities available to men, discrepancies in power, voice and political representation.

The most prevalent reasons for girls' drop out in Uganda include pregnancy, marriage and family responsibility, while for boys it is dismissal/indiscipline, job opportunities and lack of interest (Atekyereza, 2001; Ayiga & Rampagane, 2013; Mirembe & Davies, 2001). Girls' vulnerability to unwanted pregnancies and unsafe abortions have been reported in other studies in Uganda (Muhanguzi, 2011; Muhanguzi et al., 2011). Girls' school attendance has also been affected by the long distances between the home and school (Limoncelli, 2010). Overall, repetition at primary school level in Uganda is quite low given the Universal Primary Education (UPE) automatic promotion policy.

Further, noteworthy is the increase in women's participation in formal socio-economic and political processes in Uganda (Bantebya & Keniston, 2006; Tripp, 2000). Feminist research on Ugandan has attributed this to the influence of worldwide feminist movements as well as Uganda's turbulent political and economic history which have created spaces for novel socio-political initiatives (Decker, 2014; Ottemoeller, 1999). In the next section, I provide insights into Uganda's society and the socio-political changes therein, to situate women's personal struggles as illuminated in my findings, into broader struggles of the women's movement in Uganda to enhance the position of women, dispelling the monolithic victim narrative.

1.4.1. Political and Socio-economic History of Politics of Gender in Uganda

The regimes of Milton Obote (1962-1971), Idi Amin (1971-1979), the Uganda National Liberation Front (1979-1980), the second presidency of Milton Obote (1980-1985), and the short-lived Okello-Lutwa regime (1985-1986) are all significant for

their brutality. Ottemoeller (1999) explains that the entire history of Uganda since her independence in 1962 to 1986 when the current National Resistance Movement (NRM) took over power, is an epitome of socio-political deterioration permeated by ethnic division, personal rule, and economic dependence. Most notable in Africa for its history of warfare, both the 1979 Tanzanian invasion, which overthrew the Amin regime, as well as the guerrilla war waged by the NRM against the government of Milton Obote from 1981 to 1986, severely disturbed political and economic progress. Amin's legacy of militarism continues to hover over Uganda as reflected in the heavy military deployment, civil unrest, hefty military budget in Uganda under the current NRM government (Decker, 2014).

While the women's movement according to Tripp (2000), was extant during the colonial period and continued growing after the first Milton Obote regime (1962-1971) even with indifference from the government, it was suppressed after Idi Amin's military coup. Women experienced Amin's regime as particularly repressive. Decker (2014) explains that on the grounds of anti-colonialism, anti-Western value system and public morality, Amin banned miniskirts, wigs and trousers as well as the use of creams, deodorants and perfumes. As part of the morality crusade, unmarried women, also constructed as prostitutes, were cleared off the city streets by Amin's military officers, who not only forced them to get married, but also raped Christian girls to impregnate them. Amin also carried out revenge attacks on "Obote's people"—those who had been associated with the ousted President and/or former regime because of their ethnicity, religion and/or relationship (sometimes alleged). Idi Amin also declared the abolition of women's organizations, which largely worked underground even under threat. Although Amin appointed women like Elizabeth Bagaya to political positions, it was for purposes of his own political capital given the pervasive rhetoric of women's empowerment both at home and abroad. The meddling and co-optation of extant women's movements continued throughout Milton Obote's second rule. The thrust of women into politics has largely been attributed to the NRM guerrilla war (Tripp, 2000; Wakoko & Lobao, 1996). Women played an important role in this war, serving as regular soldiers, gathering and disseminating military intelligence and providing logistical support such as food for the guerrilla army. Additionally, the disruptions of the war plunged women into business and household leadership roles previously occupied by men, contributing to a general willingness to accept new political actors.

Uganda's political and economic history created spaces for augmented female participation in formal politics. Increasingly, Ugandan politicians, unable to rely on financial patronage alone, have resorted to rallying women's support through symbolic political benefaction to build electoral support from women (Oloka-

Onyango & Tamale, 1995). The historic invisibility of women within political and public echelons of power has created possibility for symbolic political patronage, which has been enacted through high-level political appointments to women as well as guaranteed levels of political representation for women in national and local government administration. Women have unprecedentedly, in the history of Uganda, been appointed to visible political positions such as Dr. Wandira Kazibwe who was the first Vice President in Africa (1994-2003), Ms. Rebecca Kadaga as first female Speaker of Parliament (2011-date) and Ms. Jeniffer Musisi as Executive Director of the Kampala Capital City Authority (2011 to date). As Ottemoeller affirms then, that in the current government led by President Yoweri Museveni and the National Resistance Movement (NRM), "women's influence on formal electoral politics in Uganda is expanding at least partly because gender has become a political tool for power-seeking politicians" (1999, p. 89). The NRM's pragmatism around maintenance of state power suggests that its gender policies must garner and expand their political power, boosting women's presence in formal politics for NRM political support. Yet, while the NRM leadership may have seized on gender as a political issue, Ugandan women had previously advocated political and economic equality with men (Tamale, 1999; Tripp, 1988, 2000). As Ottemoeller affirms, "The NRM did not have to cajole women to enter formal politics; to the contrary, the NRM found a ready supply of female political activists anxious to assume roles in formal politics" (1999, p. 92).

Tripp (2000) explains that the women's movement, resuscitated after the NRM coupe, has pressured the regime to promote women to key positions, revising the 1995 constitution which implemented far-reaching provisions to boost women's position through policies such as affirmative action, and government sponsored Women's Councils. This notwithstanding, the practical effects of the politics of gender and/or increased status of women on the day-to-day lives of the majority of women in Uganda are limited. The NRM government has not prioritized gendered concerns, which largely affect women, such as improvements in rural health, provision of small-scale loans and day care facilities. Nonetheless, Tripp (2000) illuminates the continued struggle of the women's movement in working against constraints to address women's concerns. Further, Decker (2014) explains the political and economic turmoil in Uganda, particularly the violent disruptions during the war as well as their aftermath, which compelled women to assume new roles and responsibilities, against the model of domestic virtue, which as Bantebya and McIntosh (2006) argue has served to keep Uganda women in the home.

1.5. Significance of the Study

The female teacher educators' divergent personal experiences disrupt the dominant victim narrative associated with non-Western women. It is also through shared experiences that as Oksala explains, "individuals may come to realize that their predicament is part of a wider problem and that forms of resistance they have not previously envisaged might be possible" (2014, p. 402). As a rejoinder Mohanty affirms "that efforts to remember and to re-narrate everyday experiences of domination and resistance, and to situate these experiences in relation to broader historical phenomena, can contribute to oppositional consciousness that is more than a mere counter stance" (1991, p. 34). Such studies, which focus on how subjects navigate and/or resist culturally available subject positions, contribute to a growing body of knowledge around the workings of agency, specifically within structures of subordination (Hutchings, 2013; Longman, 2008; Madhok, 2013; Madhok et al., 2013; McNay, 2000; Widdows, 2013). This, according to Hoy (2005) can also produce other discursive possibilities given that the "ethical aim of critical resistance, is to engage in resistance to see what 'resistance can open up" (p. 11, as cited, Wolgemuth, 2014, p. 599).

Further, in citing Gloria Anzaldua's essay on "Mestiza Consciousness" as a model of radical re-writing of identity, Mohanty highlights the possibility that can stem when we "rethink, remember, and utilize our lived relations as a basis of knowledge" (1991, p. 34). In drawing on female teacher educators' experiences therefore, my study provides insights not only into the ways in which hegemonic discourses shape daily experience, but also into forms of resistance to patriarchy, which when strategically narrated and circulated could unsettle dominant ideologies, providing a disparate script from the dominant victim narrative. Additionally, the experience-oriented marginal narratives from the female teacher educators bring "into public discussion, questions and concerns excluded in dominant ideologies, ideologies which sustain and are sustained by political and economic hierarchies" (Stone-Mediatore, 1998, p. 126). Such understandings, which draw from teachers' lived experiences and practices, can usefully inform teacher education in Uganda as explained further in Chapter 7.

Further, the dominant representation of Third World women in ways that reduce them to victims or dependents, has not only supported subjugated relations, but also enabled political and cultural practices that exercise control over their bodies and sexuality. Mohanty (1984) rightfully criticizes Western scholarship for its role in the discursive colonization implicated in claiming authority to speak for a certain group, thereby suppressing the group's heterogeneity and abrogating their agency. In

emphasizing the crucial role of experience-oriented writing in the resistance to neo-colonialism, Stone-Mediatore affirms that "Third World women's self-conscious assumption of responsibility for how their identities and histories are represented constitutes an act of political agency…to begin to define the terms of their own lives"(1998, p. 127). This study which draws on Ugandan female teacher educators' gendered lived experiences heeds calls (Mohanty, 1991; Mohanty, 1984; Stone-Mediatore, 1998) to illuminate stories told by Third world women defining their own reality, and dismantling homogenizing discourses that risk to squeeze them into *one* way of being.

Additionally, the focus on female English alongside female science teacher educators' stories is a useful way of examining competing discourses and histories around English as historically female-friendly and subjective, and science dominantly perceived as male oriented and objective/neutral (Paechter, 2000). My study contributes to the field by showing the overlaps and/or differences in discursive practices around gender as invoked and/or enacted by female teacher educators from these disciplines which have traditionally been marked for gender difference.

The study fits in with the Ugandan government's efforts to mainstream gender into education at different levels, specifically within higher education. The Uganda Gender Policy defines "gender mainstreaming" as "a conscious approach…to take into account gender equality concerns in all policy, program, administrative and financial activities... It is based on a political decision… towards gender equality" (2007, p. 34). Following this policy, universities in Uganda were urged to come up with policies, which ensure gender mainstreaming for purposes of increasing women's access to higher education, participation at higher levels of management and in academia as well as attention to university curricula. Documenting female teacher educators' gendered lived experiences provides some local cases that can be used to teach gender within teacher education. In applauding the importance of using stories as curriculum, Carter affirms that "because of their multiplicity of meanings…Stories convey the multiplicity of ways actions and situations intertwine and thus accurately represent the complex demands of teaching" (Carter, 1993, p. 10)." As such, lived experiences, which students can identify with, are likely to provide relevance, nuance and complexity to the teaching of gender within teacher education.

1.6. Overview of Methods

Informed by feminist post structural theory, I made use of narrative methods to tap into female teacher educators' gendered lived experiences, which are multiple and contradictory, thereby disrupting dominate discourses that produce women within the

African context as inherently victims. The study was undertaken in a school of education within one of the universities in Uganda. The participants are female teacher educators from English and science—disciplines traditionally marked for gender. I made use of in-depth interviews in order to access the participants' stories. Journal entries elicited my own experiences, which I interweaved with the participants' experiences. The analysis of the data was informed by feminist post structural discourse analysis. Reflexivity was threaded throughout the dissertation as a measure to legitimize and validate the study as elaborated in Chapter 3.

1.7. Organization of Dissertation

Chapter 1 comprises the introduction in which I explain my journey in choosing the research focus, as well as the paradigm shifts therein. I also problematize the victim narrative pervasively used to produce non-Western women. This justified the relevance of my study. I then problematize the concept of experience leading to the articulation of my research questions. The context of the study is also explained, situating the study largely within the local context. The context also provides insights into some norms within the Ugandan context, which are taken up in engaging with women' stories, discursive practices as well as agency in Chapter 4, 5 and 6 respectively. This is followed by an elaboration of the significance of the study. The chapter ends with an overview of the research methods deployed. Chapter 2 is a review of the related literature, showing research that has been done around teacher stories, teachers' gendered narratives and the place of story within teaching and teacher education. This provides insights into scholarship on teacher stories, establishing the gaps as well as the potential relevance of my study within education. Chapter 3 describes the methodology for conducting the study. It includes the theoretical framework, an explanation of narrative as method, site selection, participant recruitment, ethical considerations, and methods of data collection, data analysis and validity. In Chapter 4, I present the female teacher educators' gendered lived experiences and/or stories interwoven with my own experiences. Chapter five focuses on discourses cited and/or invoked from the female teacher educators' narratives, highlighting contextual understandings of the gender social order. Chapter 6 focuses on how the women resisted and/or reproduced gendered power relations within existing social cultural conditions. In Chapter 7 I provide a conclusion highlighting key findings, my contribution to knowledge and pointers to further research.

Chapter 2
Literature Review

The purpose of this research is to study the gendered lived experiences and/or stories of female teacher educators who work within a specific Ugandan university. While my objective is to disrupt the monolithic victim narrative used to construct non-Western women, I also hope that the contextual stories, discourses and agentic scripts constructed in my study can inform teacher education in Uganda. In this chapter, as such, I review a body of research around teacher stories to provide insights into the plausibility of using story within teacher education. The chapter is divided into three parts. Firstly, I begin with a focus on empirical studies on stories told by and/or about teachers and/or teacher educators. This broadly provides insights into the stories and/or experiential narratives about teachers within scholarship in education. Secondly, I review literature specifically about teachers' gendered lived experiences and/or stories. This situates my study more specifically within scholarship in the field. Thirdly, I focus on literature with a bearing on the place of story in teaching and teacher education. This highlights how teacher stories can, and, have been used to inform education, making a case for the relevance of my study for education in the Ugandan context.

In reviewing the body of research in this chapter, I recognize as affirmed by Lather (1999) in her paper on the work of reviewing, that it is possible to construct more than one account. My review is therefore by no means comprehensive, but is an unpacking of some of the literature to situate my study into some assemblages that have a bearing broadly on the field and specifically on this study. The review is in Lather's words "not exhaustive; it is situated, partial, perspectival" (1999, p. 3).

2.1. Teacher Stories

The paucity of scholarship on teacher stories has been problematized within educational research (Goodson, 2013; Lortie, 1975; Middleton, 2013). Despite the emerging growth in field of biographies, life histories, and other modes of narrative inquiry as a research genre (Dhunpath, 2000), life story studies of teachers remain under-researched (Dahl, 2015; Goodson & Numan, 2002). This notwithstanding, dominant life story research within education is limited to stories regarding teachers' professional lives, disregarding their personal lives. The bulk of scholarship on teachers' stories are "work stories", a phrase explained by Langellier (1989) as "a personal experience story that deals with some experience at work" (Kainan, 1997, p. 163). These stories highlight contextual issues only in as far as they relate to teachers' roles in the classroom and/or their professional becoming (Clark, 2010; Clark & Rossiter, 2008; Dahl, 2015). Research has been conducted for example, on stories that teachers tell about school and teaching (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Conle, 2003; Kainan, 1997; Schuck, Aubusson, Buchanan, & Russell, 2012); stories of their professional development (Tedder & Lawy, 2013); stories of teachers' experiences in evaluation (Poorman & Mastorovich, 2013); stories that teachers tell each other in the staffroom about their work experience (Kainan, 1995, 1997).

Similarly, studies specifically on teacher educators' stories, under researched as they are, also focus on work (Broido, Brown, Stygles, & Bronkema, 2015; Legge, 2013; Smith & Krumsvik, 2007; Wiseman, 1997). Indeed Weber (1990) pointed out the lack of studies with a focus on lives and experiences of teacher educators at the time of her own study. Some studies of teacher educators' experiences have been conducted since Weber's study. However, the focus has been on their professional experiences, with a burgeoning of studies by teacher educators about their classroom practice (Bullough, 2008; Kosnik, Beck, Freese, & Samaras, 2006; Weber, 1990), personal experiences around what it means to be a teacher educator (Clandinin & Connell, 1996; Craig, 2010; Elbaz-Luwisch, 2007; Vagle, 2011), teacher educator identity (Simon, 2005; Smith & Krumsvik, 2007; Smith, 2009), pedagogy for teacher education (Loughran, 2011; Turley, 2005; Zeichner, 2005), professional development and career stages of teacher educators (Asaf, Shachar, Tohar, & Kainan, 2008).

Heck and Sweeney (2013)'s study for example, focuses on stories from teacher educators from all Australian institutions who had been engaged in a professional learning network that provided targeted professional development and fostered collaboration within and between teacher education institutions and relevant teacher education partners to build capacity within each institution. The process involved collecting stories from the field to establish the impact of the project. However, the

findings were aggregated and presented using graphs that show the percentages of stories across the three domains of change, including course development, ICT capacity of teacher educators and ICT capacity of pre-service teachers. In this way, the specific lived experiences of the different teacher educators are lost.

Lee (2010)'s study also presents a story of a non-native English-speaking teacher educator who prepares native English-speaking pre- and in-service teachers to teach literacy/language arts in elementary school. It portrays the teacher educator's experiences in exploring the meaning and purpose of literacy education for native speakers. While the researcher illuminates the journey before and after he became a non-native English-speaking teacher educator, the experiences recounted are specifically associated with his professional life as a teacher educator, disregarding personal experiences outside this scope. The story highlights the interconnection between the teacher educator's pedagogical practices and his philosophical beliefs. It also includes a critical reflection on how he repositioned himself as a non-native English speaking teacher educator. Through this journey, the tension between native and non-native is cast in a new light and argued to be a positive quality that should be valued in the field of literacy education.

In Pennington, Brock, Abernathy, Bingham, Major, Wiest and Ndura (2012)'s self-study, university educators undertook research to examine their dispositions toward their own students. In this critical auto-ethnographic self-study, seven teacher educators in one university department, from multiple disciplines reversed common notions of studying the dispositions of their students and turned the focus onto their own struggles with their own dispositions as teachers of teachers. Their findings illustrate their powerful positions and judgmental stances held as they navigated teaching, highlighting the need for teacher educators to critically self-study their own dispositions in order to reposition themselves in developing their practice.

This work is useful in providing insights into the lives of teachers and teacher educators from their own/ practitioner perspective. Yet, the emphasis of these teacher narratives is their professional lives, recounting only personal experiences, which have a bearing on the navigation of social and institutional contexts in which they work. This reduces the teacher/teacher educators' stories to the work place, overlooking their complex multiple personal life histories, in which their beliefs and values are grounded (Williams, Ritter, & Bullock, 2012). William Pinar, Madeline Grumet, Richard Butt, and others "advocate that biographies of educators are the best sources for understanding education" (Schubert & Ayers, 1992, preface, as cited in Wimmer, 2003). Yet in heeding such calls, researchers have focused their narrative inquiry on aspects of teacher educators' professional life. As such, much of the research on teachers and teacher educators' lives has focused dominantly on their

professional rather than personal lives, illuminating the latter only in relation to their professional lives. This reductionism is indeed reflected in Xin (2005)'s understanding of "teacher story" in narrative inquiry, which seems to underlie most studies in the field. She defines teacher story as a story about "a narrative inquirer's unforgettable teacher or teachers. It could be about a narrative inquirer's own teaching (Xin, 2005, p. 339). This narrow understanding of teacher story has shaped the dominance of teacher stories within the workplace disregarding personal stories outside this realm.

This notwithstanding, these narratives have demonstrated that teachers' everyday life experiences illuminate the complexities of their knowledge and understandings of their roles and responsibilities as teachers (Brown, 2011; Clandinin & Connell, 1996; Dahl, 2015; Elbaz-Luwisch, 2007; Elbaz, 1991). Dahl's study for example shows the connection between Kenyan teachers' lifestyles, everyday lives and educational practices. The findings demonstrated how ruptures and life-stories influenced teachers' professionalism in multiple ways, as teachers through narrative learning over time, learnt to address important life problems at school and at home. Entanglement in contextual circumstances affected their opportunities as teachers, but also constructed complex ways of becoming teaching professionals. Indeed, Samaras, Hicks, & Berger, for example, undertaking self-study through personal history add that "Personal history…provides a powerful mechanism for teachers wanting to discern how their lived lives impact their ability to teach or learn" (2004, p. 905). This resounds a familiar feminist epistemological slogan that the personal is indeed professional. The significance of the personal stories in informing teachers' professional lives is indeed profound. As such, teacher stories should not be reduced solely to narratives with a direct association to professional practice and/or the work place.

Such stories, as Davies and Kellinger argue only tell but part of the story overlooking that "who we are as people, our lived experiences, and our reflections on those experiences shape our identities as teachers and what we do within our classrooms" (2014, p. 13). The focus on teacher's stories only in as far as they specifically inform educational practice as such, overlooks how life story may be useful in highlighting the uniqueness of personal trajectories and/or subjective teacher experiences in social historical institutional contexts (Goodson & Choi, 2008), as well as, the unique experiences individual teachers bring to teaching (Shin, 2012). Indeed life-story approach is much celebrated and used in women's and gender studies courses as it produces knowledge about women, which is grounded in their lived experiences (Middleton, 2013).

Unlike the descriptions of dominant self-study and/or experiential narratives in education that begin with a teacher/teacher educator's practice, Davies and Kellinger

(2014) use what they refer to as "encounter stories", which begin with their experiences outside of the classroom. The teachers then reflect upon these experiences, illuminating how these inform their teaching practices. Some scholars have written about how such studies allow teacher educators to connect the details of their experiences with their practice (Hamilton & Pinnegar, 2000). This approach, which enables the capture of social and cultural aspects of personal experience, informs my study that illuminates female university educators' trajectories in different spaces prior to and after joining academia, providing insights into where they are coming from. As such, my study, informed by a broader definition of teacher story, exceeds stories about teaching, and includes the personal histories of female teacher educators in different spaces and relations both within and beyond the classroom. My aim is to understand the life stories and/or trajectories of a group of female teacher educators in a specific Ugandan university, illuminating what I have a priori referred to as marginal women's stories within the Ugandan education context, providing a more situated view of life and education of female teacher educators in Uganda. In this way, I move beyond prescriptive models of professional identity for educators and/or teachers, demonstrating through their stories of transgression and/or complicity to power structures, that the personal is indeed political and professional. As Wimmer explains, "professional knowledges are forged in practice, and – overall – that becoming a professional teacher is a process that draws on one's experiences and inner-most convictions" (2003, p. 1). This justifies the study and documentation of such experiences to inform education.

The dominant research focus on implicit portrayal of, and instruction of teachers on how they should behave (Goodson, 2013) overlooks empirical work of and/or collaboration with those implicitly portrayed and/or prescribed to. This, according to Goodson has largely cast teachers as "shadowy figures on the educational landscape" (2013, p. 3) made visible by imprecise statistics or viewed mechanistically only in relation to their formal role. This dominant representation of teachers has overlooked the complexity of the teacher as an agent, producing the teacher as a monolithic subject. Indeed Carter (1993), who has problematized the kinds of stories that get told about teachers and teaching, affirms that teachers are dominantly constructed using a deficiency model in which they only see the "light" after coming into contact with some research-sponsored training or staff development programs, thereby improving performance usually on standardized achievement scores. Teachers have been reduced to what she refers to as "stick figures and, in some cases, are even given numbers or letters rather than names" (1993, p. 9). This she argues can be attributed to the fact that such stories are often told in the service of dominant paradigmatic interests, such as improving best practice for high achievement

in standardized tests. Yet, such stories are made to sound like the whole and/or complete truth, overlooking the investments of the storyteller. Within this discursive saturation in policy and practice of images of teachers as deficient, is a paucity of narratives within which teachers construct their own stories to show their multiple and complex trajectories. Indeed, Carter makes an important observation that "the teachers' stories referred to in this tradition are, for the most part, stories told to researchers for research purposes rather than stories teachers spontaneously tell each other… this seems an area ripe for careful research" (1993, p. 8). My study, which entails conversations between the participants and the researcher as female teacher educators at a Ugandan university, interweaves my story with theirs, in this sense becoming a part and parcel of the developing story, in keeping with Connelly and Clandinin (1990)'s two-part agenda for narrative inquiries into teaching. This agenda requires that we: "listen closely to teachers…to the stories of their lives in and out of classrooms. We also need to tell our own stories as we live our own collaborative researcher/teacher lives" (1990, p. 12).

Goodson advocated the focus on life story methods as a possibility for presenting more complicated realities of teachers, and as such, unsettling monolithic subjectivity. He affirms that, "in understanding something so intensely personal as teaching, it is critical we know about the person the teacher is" (Goodson, 2013, p. 4). The pervasive focus on how teachers ought to conduct themselves, and/or on their professional lives, indeed, disregards the idiosyncrasy in teachers' trajectories, which are likely to inform the ways in which they enact teaching. Yet, given the emphasis on more "scientific" research within education (Hatch, 2007; St. Pierre, 2006), as well as the preoccupation with teachers' assessment and accountability (Craig, 2010; Taubman, 2009), such studies are likely to dwindle.

In taking up narrative methods, my study focuses on the lives of female educators within a university in Uganda, giving insights into their contextual trajectories through home, school, workspaces in Ugandan. This is supported by Goodson, who affirms that locating teachers' life stories alongside broader contextual analysis is crucial—"to tell a story of action within a context of theory" (2013, p. 6). He is critical of some studies on teachers' lives undertaken in the British context because they overlooked contextual and intercontextual analysis. Indeed, several scholars, who have researched teachers' lives within education (Butt, Raymond, McCue, & Yamagishi, 2013; Middleton, 2013) concur that research should broaden the ways in which teachers' lives are studied towards a more exploratory and contextual analysis. Teacher biography as Dhunpath advises, "should be located in a larger tapestry of individual, community and institutional enquiry" (2000, p. 545).

This necessitates the inclusion of more context issues, such as the social, cultural, and material settings that surround teachers' lives, in order to understand them.

The attention to teachers' lives within education illuminates the idea of teacher voice. This is well articulated by Carter, stating that the "opposition between personal and academic modes of knowing in teaching calls attention to a central theme in the literatures on teachers' stories, namely, voice" (1993, p. 8). Elbaz explains this use of the term "voice", which far from implicating a previous silence, is "a political usage as well as an epistemological one" (1991, p. 10). Firstly, voice as she explains, highlights the ways in which the language of research within education, with its emphasis on general propositions, silences teachers' experiences and concerns. Secondly, voice draws attention to discourse and power, as implicated in the broader network of power embodied in the work of a largely male population of policy makers and administrators, who control practices within teaching, a profession dominated by women. Story as such, has been commended as an especially appropriate form of women's knowing and expression, which can unsettle dominant and/or paradigmatic modes and/or discourses on teaching. My study gives "voice" to women's stories—the particularities of women's lives, narrated using a method espoused for getting at the ways in which women make sense of the world, providing a forum for women to speak, not only about their lives, but also about their practices in the classroom. Indeed, one of the central issues in the literature on teacher voice can be construed as a question of narrator distance from the main characters in stories told about teachers. In most conventional stories told about teachers, the narrator, however invisible, assumes a superior more knowing attitude toward the characters through his/her access to relevant literatures, framing the study, providing interpretations, and modulating teachers' voices. My study departs from these dominant narratives about teachers, within which the researcher dons the "god trick of seeing everything from nowhere" (Haraway, 1988, p. 581). I tell stories with and about teachers, interweaving mine with their stories, eliciting diverse trajectories.

This method of eliciting stories together with the participants was also undertaken by Xin (2005). In teaching her multicultural teacher education classes within a Tao context, Xin modelled narrative reconstruction through living and telling, and reliving and retelling of stories of experiences. In her classes, she told her own teacher stories, inviting her students to tell their own stories in connection to hers. In this way, she made use of Conle (1996)'s notion of resonance, instructing her students to construct correspondences and/or resonances between sets of narrativized experiences. The use of journaling within my own study draws on the notion of resonance as my own experiences were triggered by my participants' stories. This notion also worked in the interviews as our stories resonated each other's, creating a

safe space within which to elicit stories. My study combined in-depth interviews as well as journaling, as I weaved my own story with the stories told me by the female educators. The use of in-depth interviews predominates as the method for eliciting these stories (Dahl, 2015; Davis & Kellinger, 2014; Elbaz-Luwisch, 2007; Kirk, 2004). Kainan (1995, 1997) however, is one of the researchers who made use of observation as method to collect the stories teachers told each other in the classroom. Middelton (1993) wrote her own life history, which she used to teach in one of her feminist teacher education classes. In Xin (2005)'s multicultural teacher education class, the stories were elicited through turn-taking, where students told a stories about their diverse cultural context. In Zander (2007)'s art education class, stories were elicited from the students using the work done by them in the art class.

Narrative studies of teachers and teaching have explored a wide range of thematic concerns. Elbaz-Luwisch (2007) provides a list of great resources in this regard affirming that studies have examined teacher identity (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Nias, 1985, 1993); teacher professional development (Butt & Raymond, 1989; Heikkinen, 1998; Raymond, Butt, & Townsend, 1992); life stories (Goodson, 1997; Kelchtermans, 1993); education and development of new and beginning teachers (Doecke, Brown, & Loughran, 2000; Estola, 2003; Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2002); teachers' curriculum stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 1992); concepts of voice, discourse, and multivoicedness in teaching (Britzman, 1991; Elbaz-Luwisch, Moen, & Gudmundsdottir, 2002; Marsh, 2002); stories of teachers' knowledge and work in the school context (Clandinin & Connelly, 1998) and teachers' diversity and multiculturalism (Craig, 2004; He, 2003; Phillion, He, & Connelly, 2005). My study contributes to this body of work on teachers' stories, specifically on diversity, and particularly on gendered lived experiences.

2.2. Teachers' Gendered Stories

In this section, I specifically focus on teacher stories in which gender is a significant factor in some way. Scholarship on teachers' gendered stories has prevalently been undertaken in relation to the classroom. Parsaloi and Steyn (2013)'s gendered study focuses on the lived experiences of women heading public rural primary schools in Kenya, in order to explore possible strategies for improving women's participation in educational leadership in rural primary schools in Kenya. In talking about their work-lives, the women provided insights into their professional and personal experiences prior to and during their positions as head teachers. The experiences prior to taking up positions as head teachers are linked to work relations within the schools, which affected their uptake of current head teacher positions. Their

reluctance to take on leadership positions explains the under-representation of women within educational leaderships at all levels. Studies in countries, like Australia (Tessens, White, & Web, 2011), California (Wickham, 2007), Turkey (Celikten, 2005), Uganda (Sperandio & Kagoda, 2010), and Zimbabwe (Mapolisa & Madziyire, 2012) show an under-representation of women in leadership at all levels of the education system, including primary, secondary schools, universities and other educational institutions. This reluctance to take on leadership is reproduced by my study, in which women educators at the university shun leadership positions. My research moves such studies forward by providing insights into trajectories of women in educational leadership, illuminating the lived experiences that might have informed the leadership role.

Adams (2013)'s study focused on female teachers' own experiences as mathematics students. The study focused on four women, each with at least ten years' teaching experience. The purpose of the study was to explore their developing mathematical identity and situate their professional learning stories. The findings indicate that participants' own teachers provided them with an important frame of reference for their identity work, highlighting the significance of their early experiences of learning mathematics to their current practice. Similarly, Uitto and Estola (2009)'s study focused on stories told by female teachers about their own teachers. Gender was salient in the stories as the teachers described their schoolgirl experiences in relationships with male and female teachers, highlighting what it means to be a female or a male teacher, sometimes challenging the stories of female teachers as caregivers and male teachers as discipliners. The study sought to contribute to efforts to make school more democratic and just by encouraging teachers to engage with their histories. However, as prevalent within teacher stories, the histories of teachers are reduced to their relevance to practice in the classroom, disregarding stories outside this realm.

Studies about men who do traditional women's work such as teaching at elementary school, have proliferated within research on teacher stories. These narratives on men's work as teachers in elementary schools are part of a growing literature asking men to talk about their work as teachers and making an effort to understand their complex, often-contradictory experiences (Gamble & Wilkins, 1997; Smedley, 2005, 2007). Smedley (2007)'s study, an example of a story which also highlights gendered discursive regimes, focuses on Terry, a male student school teacher's experiences in a world often understood as feminized. The study illuminates the ways in which this teacher negotiates the assumptions made about him as a gendered individual challenged by the task of learning to be a teacher within a female dominated space. Invoked within Terry's story are discourses, which simultaneously

demonize while at the same time idealizing male teachers who are underrepresented and as such highly sought after within lower education. Discourses, which construct male teachers at lower levels of schooling as effeminate and/or homosexual, and as paedophiles and/or kid-fiddlers prevail in the teachers' narrative about his experience. Coupled with this are discourses, which inscribe the teachers' working class masculinity with valued potential to control unruly boys and impart a no-nonsense version of heterosexuality. Such discourses have the effect of constructing and/or idealizing these men within lower levels of education while also casting them as suspicious. Smedley (2007)'s study also provides insights into the ways in which the male teacher slides between positions of power and powerlessness, depending on the discourses in which he is positioned. Terry, as a student primary school teacher, was positioned as dangerous, through discourses, which constituted his masculinity as signifying potential sexual abuse of young children. Yet conflicting discourses within primary culture also positioned him as powerful and authoritative. While teaching young children is constructed as a feminized occupation, there exists a masculine, managerial culture, which constitutes men as natural and effective teachers. These discourses, which have histories, serve to maintain hierarchies, sustaining inequalities and producing difference. This study exceeded the focus on storyline to include discourses enacted as well as the social effects of such discourses. This, like my study was useful in providing both experiential narratives while also situating them within broader ways thinking and/or understandings of gender within situated contexts. Yet this study illuminates Terry's story only in as far as it is associated with the classroom, dominantly excluding his personal experiences, which might have shed more light on his trajectory and/or where he is coming from as a teacher.

Coulter and McNay (1993)'s study focused on seven men who were beginning their careers as elementary school teachers. Through individual and group interviews, these men shared their experiences as men working with young children. The researchers identified various issues these men confronted as they attempted to create a place in a work world traditionally constructed as more suited for women. This study contributes to gendered narratives on male elementary school teachers by highlighting not only the stereotypes about men in non-traditional occupations but also the political assumptions that underlie calls for more men in elementary schools. The researchers argue that such calls, prevalent in Canada and the United States where the proportion of full-time male elementary public school teachers has declined, rest largely on the claim that male teachers serve as role models for boys and father figures for children from female-headed and/or single parent families. Most of the stories herein are about white and middle class males, as are the stories about female teachers. My study contributes to this scholarship by a focus on female teacher

educators from an African, specifically Ugandan context, illuminating the trajectories of these educators.

Davis and Kellinger (2014) focus on what they refer to as encounter stories of Black, heterosexual and White lesbians women. The researchers sought to provide narratives that could not only inform their work as teacher educators and scholars but also shape prospective teachers' understanding of inimitable difference. The researchers argue that given the growing diversity in K-12 education, it is crucial that prospective teachers gain meaningful insight of unique, real life experiences, examining those experiences against their own familiarities in order to recognize and engage with diversity in ways that meet curricular and social needs of all schoolchildren. In illuminating teacher trajectories as such, educational research provides insights into multiplicity and diversity, which can inform education.

Kainan (1997)'s work on stories told by teachers in an Israeli staffroom in a comprehensive religious secondary school, departs from the dominant focus on work stories. While her team of researchers set out to investigate the stories female teachers told in the staffroom, framing their study as a work story, their findings presented unexpected results. The stories these teachers within a religious school told were personal, rather than work stories, which was unusual and different from the other schools the research team had visited. Stories about home dominated over those about work situation from where the stories were narrated. The staffroom then functioned as a space for sharing personal and/or concerns about the home. The idea of recounting personal narratives of teacher's lives is also illuminated in researching the lives of female teachers in Pakistan. Kirk (2004) highlighted how teachers took up teaching, showing individual trajectories and/or life stories as well illuminating three viable discursive resources from which women constructed their stories of becoming women teachers. This approach, which illuminates individual stories as well as the situated knowledge highlighted by the discourses that circulate in the specific context, informed my own study of female educators' lived experiences. Kirk recommends that teacher training should make explicit connections between improving girls' education and women's concerns and/or lived experiences in the classroom and beyond. Indeed as well articulated by Nelly Stromquist, Steven Klees, and Shirley Miske state, "It is not possible to isolate girls' education from the substance and politics of women's concerns" (2000, p. 255 as cited in Kirk, 2004, p. 395). Kirk argues however, that gender equality work in teacher education has tended to focus on teaching strategies to encourage girls' participation, ignoring women's lived experiences outside the classroom. He proposes the development of alternative approaches, which connect with women teachers' own gender perspectives, concerns, experiences, and challenges. This would then link "the personal and the professional,

the public and the private, with a recognition of the fact that women's participation in the public realm of education does not necessitate a denial of their own experiences within the private sphere" (Scering, 1997, p. 62-67 as cited in Kirk, 2004, p. 395).

Overall, the studies on teachers' gendered stories provided insights into gendered relations in teachers' experiences, illuminating gendered issues such as women in leadership, male teachers at lower levels of schooling, gendered careers and subject choice. While my study corroborates some findings from the literature, it does so by researching female teacher educators as a group, which has been under-researched, providing insights into their complicated trajectories within the Ugandan context. My study delves into their narratives, and discourses also illuminating their agency in navigating the gendered terrain. Such stories can inform teaching and education.

2.3. The Place of Story in Research on Teaching and Teacher Education

The establishment of a knowledge base for the teaching profession has been one of the main directions proposed for advancement of teacher education (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005). Yet, the nature and purpose of this knowledge base remains contentious. Suggestions that it should not be divorced from teachers' experiences and understandings have proliferated in the literature (Cochran-Smith & Zeichner, 2005; Hiebert, Gallimore, & Stigler, 2002). Indeed, Elbaz-Luwisch (2007) explains that bringing personal experience into teaching and learning in academic contexts can make a significant contribution to personal and professional development. Indeed, some scholars have made a case for the inclusion of narrative inquiry as an alternative methodological tool in education as well as educational research (Clandinin & Connelly, 1998; Slattery, 2006; Wood, 2009). This trend, which departs from reliance on correlation coefficients "has been upsetting to some who mourn the loss of quantitative precision and, they would argue, scientific rigor"(Carter, 1993, p. 5).

Listening to teachers' voices and stories about their work has been foregrounded as important for understanding teaching. Wood (2000)'s study explores some ways in which narrative inquiry can become a process by which teachers themselves gain insights into their practices and set new directions for their on-going professional development. In her study, she describes how a teacher, Ann, engaged in writing and telling stories so that accounts of her practice as told from her perspective, could become texts for professional reflection and dialogue. Ann increasingly relied

on her own words and insights to steer her on-going practice, rather than turning to outside authority for inspiration and guidance to improve her teaching. Relating her professional experiences through stories provided the opportunity for Ann to think about real children and real problems and to consider more useful ways of responding to them. In the first story, Ann unconsciously imposes her personal interests on students. In the second, she is quite conscious and horrified when personal memories compromise her professional judgment. Ann's narrative highlights the ways in which events in her personal life informed her practice showing colliding and/or blurry boundaries between private and public worlds. This provides insights into the futility of separating the personal from the professional, challenging in fact, the very possibility in making this attempt, thereby providing creative ways to rethink and reinvent her teaching. Narratives like these as well as narrative accounts of competent, reflective teaching offer motivating exemplars for significant educational change.

Indeed, life experiences have been a focus of some courses within education (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Middleton, 2013; Xin, 2005). In teaching her multicultural teacher education classes within a Tao context for example, Li modelled narrative reconstruction through living and telling, and reliving and retelling of stories of experiences by telling one of her own teacher stories, inviting her students to tell their stories in connection to hers. The structure of what she refers to as a narrative inquiry-based curriculum entailed interactions between students and teachers in ways that created possibility for diverse stories to be shared in resonance with each other. In this way, the students, experienced each other's pain and joy, fear and pride, and anger and resentment, learning to understand, accept, and respect each other's perspectives. The study revealed for example, that cultural creativity and social regeneration were more likely to take place through intersubjective learning between different and opposing subjectivities through communication and conversations between dramatically different and opposing cultural beings in classroom practice and research.

Similarly, Zander (2007) highlighted the role of narrative in the practice of teaching Art, encouraging students to think more critically and to understand the role of art in their own lives and culture. This was undertaken by asking students to tell their own stories about the art they created, or how the lives and artwork of others had affected and/or helped them find meaning in the aesthetics of their own lives. In so doing, they changed the nature of classroom talk, helping students recognize the communicative value of their own and other artists' work, to understand multiple cultural perspectives, as well as invite them to reflect on their own experience in light of diverse narratives.

The use of stories and/or narrative inquiry to inform the teaching of science subjects within teacher education has been documented. Narratives have for example informed mathematics teacher educators about affective aspects, such as identity (Drake, 2006; Drake & Sherin, 2006; Drake, Spillane, & Hufferd-Ackles, 2001; Kaasila, 2007), motivation (Mendick, 2005; Phelps, 2010), orientation toward mathematics (Kaasila, Hannula, Laine, & Pehkonen, 2008; Oslund, 2012). Teachers' narratives provide a context for teacher learning and illuminate performances and/or enactments of teachers' knowledge.

However, Mutonyi (2015), writing from a Ugandan perspective explains that few research studies in science have focused on how stories, proverbs and anecdotes can be used as scaffolds for learning science. Such stories she argues are cultural tools used within indigenous groups in the Ugandan community to teach children about the environment. Her study shows how students in a Ugandan secondary school drew on stories, proverbs and anecdotes to explain their understanding on health and HIV related issues. She argues that these cultural tools drawn from students' cultural context helped them comprehend science concepts. Such stories, linked to students' everyday worlds, are a useful resource to teaching sciences.

The proliferation of stories from researcher-practitioners about teaching and teacher education has been attributed to the ways in which stories capture the richness of experiences and complexity in understandings of teaching to inform education (Carlie, 2012; Carter, 1993; Connelley & Clandinin, 1990; Day, Kington, Storbat, & Sammons, 2006; Dwyer & Garvis, 2012; Valdez, Young, & Hicks, 2000). The benefits of telling stories for teachers and learners have been documented in teacher education. Teacher learning as some researchers affirm, extends beyond teacher preparation within institutions to include learning through storying and narrative learning from their professional teacher life after pre-service teacher education (Dahl, 2015; Goodson, Biesta, Tedder, & Adair, 2010; Hammerness, Darling-Hammond, & Bransford, 2005; Kosnik et al., 2006). Telling and writing stories is as such, a useful way of fostering teachers' pre-service and in-service professional growth

Stories also provide special access to teacher's knowledge (Clandinin & Connell, 1996; Clandinin & Connelly, 1998; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Elbaz-Luwisch, 2007; Elbaz, 1991; Gudmundsdottir, 1991). Clandinin and Connelly (1998) explore questions of teacher knowledge, what it means to come to know as teachers and how knowledge is shaped by their experiences. In reflecting their epistemological interest in the personal and practical, they coined the term "personal practical knowledge" defined as "a term designed to capture the idea of experience in a way that allows us to talk about teachers as knowledgeable and knowing persons. Personal practical knowledge is in the teacher's past experience, in the teacher's present mind

and body, and in the future plans and actions. Personal practical knowledge is found in the person's practice. It is, for any one teacher, a particular way of reconstructing the past and the intentions of the future to deal with the exigencies of a present situation" (Connelly and Clandinin, 1988, p. 25 as cited in Clandinin & Connelly, 1998, p. 150). Through conversations with teachers, Clandinin and Connelly came to see teacher knowledge in terms of narrative life history. These stories and/or narratives of experience are personal in that they reflect a person's life history and are at the same time social since they reflect the milieu and/or the contexts in which teachers live. Citing other scholars who shared their interest in understanding teacher knowledge Elbaz (1983) with practical knowledge, Hollingsworth (1992) with relational teacher knowledge, Lyons (1990) with nested knowledge, Tom (1984) with moral knowledge, and Schubert and Ayers (1992) with teacher lore, Clandinin and Connelly (1998) affirm that teacher knowledge is indeed storied and, that accessing teacher knowledge is a way of making sense of and/or understanding their practice. Similarly, citing his own research about novice teachers, Carter reiterates that recording teachers' storied lives can provide "insights into what teachers know, how their knowledge is organized, and how their knowledge changes with additional experiences of watching and doing teaching"(1993, p. 7).

Garvis and Pendergast (2012)'s study for example focuses on a reflective self-study of their supervisor-supervisee relationship during the PhD. They provide a narrative, revisiting experiences and making sense of these, they highlight the importance of "relational supervision" approach in the work of supervisory support for academics. Similarly, Clandinin's (2012) study of two teachers in the context of an inner-city school in Toronto is another example in which teacher knowledge is examined using their own narratives. Clandinin (1986) made use of participant observation in the classroom, on-going conversations with the teachers and letters written to them, to raise issues that came up as she took part in the lives of the teachers and their students in the classroom. This work highlighted teachers' images as central to an understanding of their knowledge, also emphasizing the personal nature of that knowledge. Further, Connelly and Clandinin (2006)'s study offers a narrative account of the work of two seventh-grade science teachers. In observing one of the teachers called Bruce, the researchers initially found him to be lacking in terms of best practices for teaching science. This is because Bruce sometimes dictated notes which students copied into their notebooks and sometimes understated the importance of technical terms in the biology lesson. In having discussions with Bruce however, Connelly and Clandinin show how a complex narrative understanding of Bruce's teaching can be constructed. Through narrative, Bruce's concern for the future of his students who were growing up in a troubled inner-city environment was revealed. He

was more vested in equipping them with academic skills (such as note taking), which would be useful in the future, enabling them to remain in school, where they could then later revisit biology. Drawing on his working-class background, Bruce had also built relationships with his students. The narrative account of Bruce's teaching therefore, is linked to a myriad of elements, including the mandated curriculum, his own background, his understanding of possibilities and limitation in terms of time and resources, as well as his students' needs, their lives, and their possible futures. These complex understandings were reached by going beyond a superficial engagement with Bruce's classroom, justifying the need to learn from teachers' lived experiences outside the classroom, as these are likely to inform their pedagogy.

In developing radical teaching styles, many feminist educators have found life history approaches useful (Crabtree, Sapp, & Licona, 2009; Middleton, 1993, 2013; Ropers-Huilman, 2009). Middleton explains that "starting with the personal is a useful means of 'making knowledge', since few records have been kept of women's intellectual past and existing social theories and research have been criticized as androcentric—reflecting the situation of men while rendering women invisible or marginal" (Middleton, 2013, p. 19). A feminist pedagogy, as described by Middleton requires teachers to make visible and explore aspects of their life histories with students in order to inform teaching/learning. She urges teachers to analyse relationships between individual biographies, historical events, and the broader power relations that have shaped and constrained possibilities and perspectives of educators.

Indeed, in teaching her undergraduate "Women and Education" course, Middleton exposed her students to women's educational life histories, divulging women's biographies, autobiographical accounts and other examples of oral history throughout the course. Students were asked to compare their own experiences with those they were reading about and share these with other students in small group discussions. Students' biographies thus became important subject matter in the course. The main assignment required students to conduct educational life-history interviews with two New Zealand women of different ages and to theorize their lives in terms of the historical events, educational provisions and ideologies, and race/class/gender relations of their time and place. The course was designed to help students recognize constraints and limitations on women's lives in their historical specificity. Indeed, scholars such as Giroux suggested teacher educators could teach students life-history techniques to enable them develop "concepts and methods to delve into their own biographies, to look at the sedimented history…in a manner that reveals how the latter have been shaped and influenced by the dominant culture (1982, p. 124, as cited in Middleton, 2013, p. 16). In other words, teachers, as well as their students should analyse the relationship between their individual biographies, historical events, and

constraints imposed on their personal choices by broader power relations, such as class, race and gender. My study heeds this call, making visible patterns of power relations that constrain and/or enable women's lives.

In explaining the ways in which lived experiences inform teacher education, Carter draws a distinction between "case studies, or the use of cases as data for analysis of teaching, and case methods, or the use of cases as instruments for teacher education"(Carter, 1993, p. 9). She then focuses on the latter, examining how stories with and about teachers can be used to inform teaching and teacher education. She affirms that cases can be used as curriculum to teach teachers especially at the pre-service level. This idea has also been explored by Sykes and Bird (1992) in what they have called "the case idea", which has, according to Carter "flourished in recent years with the publication of casebooks, the convening of case conferences, and the publication of numerous articles on the merits of case methods in teacher education" (1993, p. 10). The case idea is informed by the understanding that teachers' knowledge is storied. Carter advises that we continue to examine how story might inform the development of a case literature and case methods for teacher education.

This is certainly a potential contribution of my study, which has documented some female teacher educators' stories that can be used as instruments for teacher education. Such stories, which emanate within the context in which they are told, are likely to double in terms of relevance for novice teachers. It is a useful way of exploring the various ways in which gender norms are institutionalized and how these are interwoven into the social fabric of everyday experiences, knowledge and social relationships. Some of the stories went against dominant discourses of the oppressive structures that operate in Africa, giving "voice" to texts, which bear witness to women's (and men's) resistance to patriarchy. They also provided possibility for situating gender in teacher education within lived experiences of Ugandans. As Tamale affirms "it is crucial that the strategies emphasized by African feminists be informed by lived experiences of women and men on the continent and the specificities of what they hold as their culture" (2011, p. 11). Grounding concepts of gender through citing African women's (and men's) lived experiences and/or stories of agency and resistance to patriarchal arrangements is crucial to the process of knowledge production among students. It also promises to unsettle prevalent and/or enduring discourses that "frame gender equality as a uniquely Western export" (Hemmings, 2011, p. 1).

In advocating the use of stories as curriculum, Carter raises questions about which stories to tell within education. This concern, within the field of literary studies, is usually discussed in relation to the "canon". Citing Guillory (1990), Carter explains that the "canon" stemmed from a "Greek word meaning reed or rod for measurement

and came to mean rule or law by which texts were selected, usually because of their orthodoxy, for inclusion in the Bible" (1993, p. 10). She "accuses" schools as institutions for the canonization of particular texts especially within literature. Schools undertook their responsibility of disseminating literacy, by identifying and preserving the "best" texts, which then became the models and/or classics or standards against which literacy is judged. Carter problematizes this privileging of certain narratives, which at the same time, serves to exclude other texts from "canonical" status. In this she is supported by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) whose work on "small stories" foregrounds them "as an antidote to canonical narrative studies, which set out to include under-represented and/or marginalized narratives, giving relevance to the stories documented in my study.

This notwithstanding, Carter recommends stories, affirming that "because of their multiplicity of meanings and resistance to interpretation, teach in ambiguous ways…Stories convey the multiplicity of ways actions and situations intertwine and thus accurately represent the complex demands of teaching" (1993, p. 10). Yet, she makes mention that stories are likely to confuse and frustrate novices trapped in "learning" from clear, direct and I would add simplistic statements, devoid of the nuance and complexity associated with story. This has implications for the use of stories in teaching and teacher education.

Attentiveness to autobiographical and phenomenological experiences, as one of the hallmarks of the reconceptualization of the curriculum, has been embraced by those who locate their work within this tradition (Miller, 2005; Pinar & Reynolds, 1992; Pinar, Reynolds, & Slattery, 1995; Slattery, 2006). Rather than focus on external objectives as the norm within education, Pinar (1992) challenged the field to focus on internal experiences. Pinar also problematized the reduction of curriculum to a noun, an object, a tangible object. Curriculum, a derivative of "currere", a Latin word for "to run", "is a verb phrase, an activity—or for Pinar, an inward journey." Indeed, currere refers to "the running of the race and emphasizes the individual's capacity to reconceptualise his or her own autobiography…The curriculum is the interpretation of lived experiences" (Slattery, 2006, p. 62). The curriculum is perceived of as a social process through which individuals come to greater understanding of themselves, others, and the world through. This approach is a departure from traditional curriculum development approaches, which emphasize "commitment to organized goals, measurable objectives, accountability procedures, and mastery evaluation to achieve a specified evaluation outcome" (Slattery, 2006, p. 62). It fits in with curriculum development in the postmodern era, which is attentive to the autobiographical perspective, as well as interconnectedness of experience. Pinar's method of "currere challenges educators to begin with the individual experience and

then make broader connections" (Schubert, 1986, p. 33, as cited in Slattery, 2006, p. 63). This approach reminds educators that "we can no longer remain ahistorical, detached, impersonal, and 'behaviourally objective'…we can no longer separate the context of historical events from the autobiographical experiences of teachers and students" (Slattery, 2006, p. 61). This justifies the relevance of documenting female teacher educators' stories of resistance and/or negotiation of the gendered order in Uganda, to inform teacher gender studies within teacher education in Uganda.

2.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed literature on teacher stories, teacher's gendered lived experiences and the place of story in teaching and teacher education. The key findings show a paucity of scholarship on teacher stories, specifically around their personal lives. Most of the narratives about teachers focus on their professional lives, overlooking their complex multiple histories, in which, their beliefs, knowledge(s) and values are grounded. These stories, dominantly told by researchers rather than teachers themselves, pervasively produce teachers as monolithic deficient subjects overlooking their multiple, complex realities. Also problematized is the ways in which teacher stories within educational research, are devoid of contextual information surrounding the teachers' lives, to inform better understanding of the stories. While the few narrative studies of teachers' stories have focused on a wide range of thematic concerns such as teacher professional development, curriculum stories, stories about teacher knowledge, there is a paucity of work around their gendered lives. This notwithstanding, the scholarship on teachers' gendered lives highlights gendered concerns, some of which are corroborated as I show in Chapter 4 of my study. The review of literature also provides insights into the place of story within teaching and teacher education. Stories can inform education by providing access to teacher knowledge and making sense of teachers' practice. Narratives have been the focus of some courses such as feminist and multicultural courses within teacher education. They have also been used to inform the teaching of science disciplines. As such, teacher stories and/or narratives can be used as cases for teaching gender in teacher education.

My study, situated within a broader definition of teacher story exceeds a focus on teacher educators' professional lives on which a myriad of teacher stories have focused. I focus on female teacher educators' gendered personal lives in home, school and work spaces, illuminating their complex trajectories. My study departs from most teacher stories, by its focus on female teacher educators, an under-researched group, illuminating their stories of complicity, as well as agency in transgressing gendered

norms within the Ugandan context, disrupting the pervasive victim narrative, which has dominantly informed the ways in which African women are constructed. It essentially demonstrates how complex gender and/or power relations are constructed and/or resisted within competing discourses in every-day mundane practices in the lives of female teacher educators in a situated context. These narratives provide possibilities that can inform gender and teacher education within the Ugandan context.

Chapter 3
Methodological Approach

In flagging this chapter as "methodological approach", I draw a distinction between the oft entangled notions—"method" and "methodology." I operationalize "method as techniques of gathering evidence and methodology a theory and analysis of how research should proceed" (Harding, 1987, p. 2). Methodology refers to the overall approach including ontological and epistemological dimensions of a study. It reflects the theoretical position about nature of reality and knowledge in which the study is situated (Gobbo, 2008). This chapter is an engagement with issues of methodology and method of the study.

I chose to address my questions using a qualitative approach since it is grounded in lived experiences in specific contexts. This approach privileges "complexity of social relations expressed in daily life and the meanings that the participants themselves attribute to these interactions" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 2). My qualitative approach is broadly theoretically underpinned by feminist constructivism, which perceives of reality as socially constructed and knowledge as situated, intersubjectively produced and bearing embodied traces of researcher multiple subjectivities (Haraway, 1988; St. Pierre, 2000). The study is specifically informed by post structural feminist theory and agency.

3.1. Post-structural Feminist Theory and Agency

Feminists in education have increasingly drawn on poststructuralism to unsettle both discursive and material structures that shape gender relations in ways that denigrate women (Britzman, 1991; Coffey & Delamont, 2000; Davies, 1989; Paechter, 2007; Pascoe, 2007; Walkerdine, 1990). Feminist post-structuralism primarily hinges on the assumption that "it is language in the form of conflicting discourses which constitutes us as conscious thinking subjects and enables us give

meaning to the world and to act and transform it" (Weedon, 1997, p. 31). The discourses available to us therefore, define how we think about, and name and/or make sense of the world. As women (and men) take up the socio-culturally available discourses, they are rendered powerful by some, and less powerful by other discursive positions. Some of the available discursive positions are taken up, while others are resisted. As such, "girls/women are not permanently trapped into silence, victimhood or oppression by dominant discursive practices" (Baxter, 2003, p. 99). Rather, they continuously and simultaneously oscillate in their positioning as relatively powerless within certain discourses, but relatively powerful within alternative competing discursive frames.

This focus on multiple subjectivities, which is afforded by a feminist post structural framework is likely to disrupt dominant representations of "women and girls as unitary subjects whose economic dependence, powerlessness and physical weakness is reflected in their production as 'passive', 'weak' and 'dependent' individuals" (Walkerdine, 1981, p. 14 as cited in Davies, 2003, p. 6). Walkerdine recognizes that while such accounts have been profoundly vital in developing feminist practices to challenge patriarchy, she argues that "[F]emale teachers and small girls …are not unitary subjects uniquely positioned, but produced as a nexus of subjectivities, in relations of power which are constantly shifting rendering them at one moment powerful and at another powerless" (Walkerdine, 1981, p. 14, as cited in Davies, 2003, p. 6). Feminist post structural theory entails making sense of the ways in which discourses position subjects, recognizing the complexities, ambiguities and differences in their experiences. It is in its repudiation of the fixed self, that a feminist post structural lens, with its focus on discourses available to subjects, pays attention to the different planes/intersections of oppression that women face. It is therefore a useful framework for exploring how complex gender and/or power relations are constructed and/or resisted within competing discourses in every-day mundane practices in the lives of female teacher educators in a situated context.

Central to this study that seeks to disrupt the dominant victim narrative, highlighting the multiplicity in women's gendered realities, is the notion of agency. I also explain concepts of power and discourse as they relate to agency, showing how these inform my study of female teacher educators' gendered lived experiences.

3.1.1. Agency

The significance of locating women's agency in order to disrupt dominant discourses, which construct women as always victims, has already been discussed in this study. While the central feminist agenda remains to disturb gender and sexual inequalities, there has been a paradigm "shift from an understanding women as mere

'victims' of patriarchal culture and false consciousness to that of agents'' of their lives. This "turn to agency" as articulated by Longman and Bradley, "has particularly taken place in the realm of the study of non-western women" (2015, p. 21).

Judith Butler (1997) situated agency in what she has referred to as the "performativity" of subjectivity. As such, identity is enacted through the discursive frames available to us, and/or socially enforced norms that surround us. It is through the re-enactment of culturally contingent norms of, say, masculinity or femininity through practices like dress and comportment that we identify, and are recognized as say a heterosexual man or a woman. However, this enforcement of norms, as Butler argues, "cannot totally be effective… The failure to conform signals the possibility of a variation of the rules that govern intelligible identity. And with failure come reconfigurations or changes of identities" (as cited in Smith & Watson, 2003, p. 58). Stated differently, while identity is shaped by discourses and/or cultural scripts which tell us how to "do" gender, subjects have the capacity to resist the discourses by "a reversal or a doing again *differently*" (Youdell, 2006, p. 49-50). It is within this reversal that we can locate agency, disrupting "business-as-usual" through, for example, non-conformity to prescribed patterns of dress, interests, and comportment. Yet, even as we think of human beings as agents rather than passive subjects in their own lives, Smith and Watson urge us to recognize that "the issue of how subjects claim, exercise, and narrate agency is far from simply a matter of free will and individual autonomy…discursive systems and social structures shape the operations of memory, experience, identity, space and embodiment" (Smith & Watson, 2003, pp. 54-55). Agency in this sense is discursively bounded.

Understandings of agency have been extended and complicated beyond what Mahmood refers to as Western "simplistic registers of submission and patriarchy" (2005, p. 7). Scholars in the humanities and social sciences have, since the 1970s, focused on workings of human agency within structures of subordination (Hutchings, 2013; Longman & Bradley, 2015; Madhok, 2013; Mahmood, 2005; Phipps, 2014). They argue that agency can also be realized by inhabiting "non-progressive" cultural norms, only to use these as a space for subversion. It is within this logic for example in the 1970s, that white middle-class feminists' call to dismantle the institution of the nuclear family, believed to be oppressive to women, was rejected by native and African American feminists. They argued that "freedom for them, consisted in being able to form families, since the long history of slavery, genocide, and racism had operated precisely by breaking up their communities and social networks" (Mahmood, 2005, p. 13). This widened the scope of feminist understandings of self-realization/self-fulfilment as contingent upon matters like class, race, and ethnicity, also recognizing the multiplicity in forms of culturally available understandings of

agency. This approach, however, has been problematized for cultural relativism, which risks discounting feminist critique altogether (Bangstad, 2011; Madhok, 2013, as cited in Longman & Bradley, 2015).

Phipps (2014) articulately argues however, that recognizing women's agency within structures of domination need not shore up those structures and/or patriarchy. Rather, we should still interrogate structures of oppression from which that agency derives. While Muslim women in Uganda for example, stood by their men in vouching for polygamy, in this sense choosing what they want for themselves, we must also interrogate the patriarchal beliefs and/or gendered power relations that make this choice/agency possible. As Phipps has emphasized, we need not focus on women's agency and identity at the expense of interrogating framing structures, which also produce women, gendered oppression.

It is through a focus on the workings of human agency within structures of subordination that "feminists have sought to understand how women resist the dominant male order by subverting the hegemonic meanings of cultural practices and redeploying them for their 'own interests and agendas" (Mahmood, 2005, p. 6). These studies have challenged scholarship on the Middle East, which, having analysed agency from a Western perspective, then portrayed Arab and Muslim women as passive and submissive to male oppression. This overlooked the ways in which these women inhabited hegemonic cultural practices, while also redeploying them for their own agenda, and in so doing, accentuating their agency. As such, dominant understandings of agency as outright and/or overt resistance to cultural norms have been unsettled.

Agency, within this framework is therefore understood as "the capacity to realize one's own interests against the weight of custom, tradition, transcendental will, or other obstacles (whether individual or collective)" (Mahmood, 2005, p. 8). Conceptualizing agency in this way is useful for locating it even within what might normatively be considered discourses of subordination. This made it possible to attend to instances when explicit feminist agency was difficult to locate, such as when women's actions seemed to re-inscribe what appeared to be instruments of their own oppression. Agency in this framework is cognizant of contingency and as such, recognizes different forms of resistance. Agency therefore contrary to liberal and/humanist understandings, is not necessarily freedom from relations of subordination and/or structures of male domination. Rather it can be found even within these structures, with women inhabiting what would normatively be considered instruments of their domination to reaffirm their value. This is illuminated in Chapter 6, where I show how the women in my study do beyond normative notions of agency, inhabiting relations of subordination to refashion their realties. Further, the

recognition that "every culture, every subculture, every historical moment, constructs its own forms of agency" (Ortner, 1995, p. 186), meant that in order to understand agency and/or resistance, I had to pay attention to the particularities of the female teacher educators' narratives, as personal but also cultural and historical products.

3.1.2. Power

Dislodging agency from a reductive binary model of resistance and subversion is a repudiation of repressive liberal humanist models of power. Such models conceptualize power as institutions and/or mechanisms that ensure subjugation and/or subservience of subjects or domination of one group over another. This understanding of power, following Foucault (1997/1984), has been problematized in post structural scholarship (Butler, 2003; Butler, 1997; Lather, 2001; Smith & Watson, 2003; St. Pierre, 2000, p. 489; Youdell, 2006). Foucault (1997/1984) theorizes that power exists in relations—as such, "he hardly ever uses the word 'power' but speaks of 'power relations' or relations of power" (as cited in St. Pierre, 2000, p. 489). He affirms that "power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization"(Foucault, 1980, p. 92). Stated differently, power is not something possessed by sovereign individuals over others with domination, as the sole intentionality, but it is omnipresent and/or everywhere, and is exercised from innumerable points within relations. Indeed as well articulated by St. Pierre, "Power is productive and can be found in the effects of liberty as well as in the effects of domination" (2000, p. 491).

One of Foucault's most important statements about power is "where there is power, there is resistance" (1980, p. 95). Power, as reiterated by Abu-Lughod, can be located through resistance—in her words, "resistance can be used as a diagnostic of power"(1990, p. 42). Understanding resistance as a diagnostic of differential forms of power allows us to move beyond the simple binary of resistance/subordination, highlighting forms of power, their complex interworking and historically changing structures of power. It also draws attention to "operations of power that construct different kinds of bodies, knowledges, and subjectivities whose trajectories do not follow the entelechy of liberatory politics" (Mahmood, 2005, p. 14). For as Foucault (1980) argues, power is productive —the subject does not precede power relations but is produced through these relations—the same conditions that produce a subject's subordination are also the means by the subject realizes agency. Foucault calls this the paradox of *subjectivation*. Resistance to hegemonic norms as such can be ascribed to a whole range of human actions, including those, which may be outside liberal normative ideals of freedom and/or progressive politics. In this sense, as well

articulated by Mahmood, "agentival capacity is entailed not only in those acts that resist norms but also in the multiple ways in which one *inhabits* norms" (Mahmood, 2005, p. 15). The forms that acts of resistance can take and/ or the idea of inhabiting norms of subordination is illuminated in my findings, specifically in Chapter 6, recognizing the location of agency within particular fields of power rather than outside of them.

Agency and resistance therefore, are not defined by a non-dominated self that existed prior to workings of power, but are in fact the product of those workings and/or power relations. Indeed Foucault affirms that "power relations are obliged to change with resistance" (1988, p. 167). Power therefore works not simply to dominate and/or oppress subjects, but also forms subjects through the capacity for action made possible by specific relations of domination. Rather than a single locus of resistance and/or refusal, resistance is "generally local, unpredictable and constant" (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 492). As affirmed by Halperin (1995), "The aim of an oppositional politics is therefore not liberation but resistance" (pp. 17-18, as cited in St. Pierre, 2000, p. 492). Forms of resistance and/or capacities to act as already belaboured can be understood from within discourses and structures of subordination that create the conditions for the enactment of agency. It is for this reason that I attend to discourse as a relevant concept in which to anchor my understandings of agency within the gendered lived experiences of the female educators.

3.1.3. Discourse

Given that resistance acquires its meaning within particular ethical and political conditions, and, that non-normative forms of agency can only be enacted, and, understood within the discourses and structures which make those forms of agency possible (Butler, 2003; Mahmood, 2005), it is critical to examine the discursive conditions within which subjects cultivate capacities of agency. Discourse is articulately conceptualized by Youdell as "bodies of knowledge that are taken as 'truth' and through which we see the world" (2006, p. 35). Foucault (1972) describes discourses as systems of thought that both construct subjects and the social environments of which they speak. Discourses of gender difference for example dominantly point girls to do gender in ways that pit them against what is understood as boys' ways of doing gender, thereby constructing regimes of truth that determine our knowledge of "intelligible" girls and boys. Discourses therefore set out, and/or shape what it means to be male or female within particular contexts, as if it were natural and/or self-evident.

Power according to Smith and Watson, "activates through discourses, the languages of everyday life through which knowledge and regimes of truth are

produced and distributed" (2010, p. 56). Language, as such, embedded within historically specific ways of giving meaning to social reality, enables various discursive positions, including modes of femininity and masculinity, through which experience is understood. To illustrate this, Weedon makes mention of women's magazines for example, which reveal "a range of often competing subject positions offered to women readers, from career woman to romantic heroine, from successful wife and mother to irresistible sexual object" (1997, p. 25). These different discursive positions, constructed by magazines compete to determine the everyday practices of family life, education, work and leisure. Every day we know and experience or ourselves through multiple domains of discourse, which serve as cultural registers for what counts as an experiencing subject. As Smith and Watson affirm therefore, "people tell stories through cultural scripts available to them, and they are governed by cultural strictures about self-representation in public. In this sense then, there is no autonomous, agentic subject outside discourse, and no interpreted or fully controlled self-narration"(Smith & Watson, 2010, p. 56). Meanings of experience are therefore made discursively, in language and retrospectively convey a sense through storytelling, also revealing discursive patterns which "both guide and compel us to tell stories about ourselves in particular ways" (Smith & Watson, 2010, p. 32).

Butler (2003) argues that the reiteration of discursive practices and/or norms serves to consolidate particular regimes of discourse. Every culture as such, constructs its own regime of truth using pervasive discursive practices and/or norms. Like Mahmood, I veer from what she refers to as "as an agnostic and dualistic framework—one in which norms are conceptualized on the model of doing and undoing, consolidation and subversion—and instead think about the variety of ways in which norms are lived and inhabited, aspired to, reached for, and consummated" (Mahmood, 2005, p. 23). This tapped into cultural nuances, given as affirmed by Ortner, that "agency is not an entity that exists apart from cultural construction…every culture, every subculture, every historical moment, constructs its forms of agency" (1995, p. 186). Therefore, rather than reduce the complexity of these lived experiences to what Mahmood has referred to as "the trope of *resistance*" (2005, p. 24), a study of how discourses are inhabited in their entirety, afforded me the possibility of exploring particularities. In so doing, I located agency even *within* discourses of subordination in the female teacher educator's narratives and/or experiences, which might have been eluded in the polarized dominantly Western resistance-subversion matrix.

I now turn to a description of my research design, which includes an explanation of, and justification for using narrative approaches to inquiry. Access, trust and reciprocity follow, demonstrating the procedures used to select and access

the study site as well as recruit participants. The methods of data collection, ethical considerations, validity and reliability follow respectively. The chapter ends with a summary in which I recap the key issues.

3. 2. Narrative Approaches to Inquiry

Personal narratives and/or stories have been taken up as a main strand of qualitative work, because they offer data grounded in biographical experiences within situated contexts (Cole, 2009; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Fraser, 2004). Narrative inquiry rests on the ontological, epistemological and heuristic assumptions that reality is organized in narrative form, human beings make sense of reality/experience by imposition of story structures and that narrative provides a method for analysing this reality (Bell, 2002; Slembrouck, 2015). As such, narrative methods have been foregrounded as appropriate for studying lived experiences (Freeman, 2015; Riessman, 2015; Slembrouck, 2015).

Drawing on feminist belief in the significance of experiential evidence as one approach to work with concerns in gender (Cole, 2009; Mohanty, 1982; Oksala, 2014; Stone-Mediatore, 1998), I draw on narrative methods to explore gender and its multiple intersections through personal experiences and/or stories of female teacher educators in Uganda. As Cole affirms, "such research is both personal and political, drawing on 'lived experience' approaches in order to illuminate the reality and complexity of experience" (2009, p. 567). This offers what Maclure refers to as a "user-friendly" approach, because it is likely to tap into tacit knowledges (Bell, 2002), as well as "the hopes, fears and circumstances of the individuals involved" (Maclure, 1993, p. 312). In citing other studies within education that have taken an interest in the personal dimensions of educators, Maclure (1993) suggests that personal stories provide oppositional strategies by those in the margins, to disrupt reductiveness, generalisation and/or "universalism" of dominant discourses. Further still, citing Lyons (2007), Cole adds that experiential approaches have been celebrated for their power to impact policy (Cole, 2009, p. 564). Indeed Maclure (1993) applauds what she refers to as the "slant or posture" towards "biographical attitude" for its concern with the "teacher-as-a-person" in addressing issues of research, policy or development. Such an approach she affirms, "places the biographical subject and his or her lived experience at the centre of the analytic frame" (Maclure, 1993, p. 311). Biographies, by virtue of their entanglements with other stories, provide useful insights for understanding situated contexts.

The use of biography in this way, which Stanley (1992; 1993) has referred to as "the 'biographizing' of social structure and 'structuralizing' of biography"(Bell, 2002, p. 207), has been taken up by feminists as a way of making visible previously invisible and/or silent histories. This, coupled with the postmodern investments in the specific as opposed to the general/global, has led to increased attention to the local, and/or personal. This has served to reinforce the "premise of feminist theory and praxis that the personal, the political and the professional are interwoven"(Coffey & Delamont, 2000, p. 61). It is on this basis that I argue that understandings of female teacher educators' experiences is one way of interweaving their personal experiences around gender to a politics of disturbing gendered power relations, disrupting dominant victim narratives. Narrative inquiry therefore, as a methodology that values plurality, through its propensity to generate multiple knowledges—both "reality" as well as taken-for-granted truths, making visible the ethics and politics embedded therein, holds tremendous disruptive potential.

Nonetheless, while narratives can potentially disturb oppressive power structures, they can also reaffirm and/or reproduce existing power relations, by confining the teller within the story, thus re-inscribing existing social structures of domination (Cole, 2009; Fraser, 2004). Further, I recognize as did Blackmore (1999) that "life narrative, with its recursive production of 'woman', can produce a normative definition of subjectivity...if the discussion is left at the level of women's experience disconnected from a broader sense of gender politics and context" (Coffey & Delamont, 2000, p. 61). As well articulated by Coulter "The individual threads of each woman's experiences are important in and of themselves…But the knots of sexism, misogyny and anti-feminism which tie these threads together and structure the pattern become increasingly visible also" (1995, p. 47, as cited in Coffey and Delamont, 2000, p. 67). As such, I treat the female teacher educators' stories as both personal and structural by constructing both the personal accounts of individual teacher educators, as well as drawing attention to patterns and/or discourses within their experiences, and the dynamics that explain these patterns. The personal narratives make marginalized experiences about gender visible, while the collection of narratives and biographies provides insights into the broader picture. This as such, addresses both the situated and structural contexts of personal experiences.

Narrative inquiry also involves working with people's consciously told stories, and because these are entangled with subtexts and/or other stories, it is likely to allow deeply hidden assumptions to surface—assumptions inherent in the shaping of the stories—assumptions of which people are often unaware, thereby providing "a window into people's beliefs and experiences" (Coffey & Delamont, 2000, p. 61). Yet, given the unfeasibility of completely knowing the world and ourselves within it, I

recognize as did Cole (2009), that there can be no clear "window" into the life of any individual as our looking is always filtered through a myriad of lenses such as context and language, and, is unstable and always shifting. Yet as Cole adds, "perhaps narrative offers us some hope" (2009, p. 273). It was useful method for examining the female teacher educator's stories, recognizing the underlying assumptions and/or discourses that they embody, in order to disrupt dominant representations of women as inherently victims who need to be managed and saved.

3.2.1. Site Selection and Recruitment

I undertook the study with female teacher educators in one of the universities within Kampala, with a long tradition of teacher education for a period of 4 months. The focus on female teacher educators at the university was useful because they are considered high achieving and/or successful women, who are likely to provide marginalized narratives that disrupt dominant victim narratives which have pervasively been used to produce non-Western women (Mahmood, 2005; Mohanty, 1984; Spivak, 1988). The women's diverse trajectories also provided insights into their diverse realities, which were irreducible to the dominant victim subjectivity.

I intentionally focused on female teacher educators from English language and Science departments within the university. English is historically constructed a "female- friendly" subject traditionally "seen" as value-laden and subjective. Science, on the other hand is dominantly perceived and projected as "neutral" (Abraham, 1989; Sleeter & Grant, 1991) and therefore objective. Further, Coffey and Delamont (2000) argue that while discourses of disciplines like English and literature allow for debate about different gendered readings, "science and math teachers are overwhelmingly committed to a belief that their subjects are impersonal, objective and gender neutral" (Coffey & Delamont, 2000, p. 33). This notwithstanding, research since the 1970s has increasingly disrupted the essentialising of English as female friendly and science as male, affirming that gender differences in this regard are so small that they are now essentially non-existent (Connell, 2008; Epstein, 1988). Therefore, I recognize that while these disciplinary spaces are produced as necessarily different, there are both similarities and differences in the experiences of these teacher educators. As such, I worked within this space, not for purposes of polarizing English and the sciences, but with the intent of examining the nuances, complexities and/or ambiguities afforded in diverse gendered experiences.

I worked with 18 teacher educators (10 from science and 8 from English departments). I recognise that this sample size, as problematized of most post structural work, might be thought too small to permit generalization of results beyond

the sample. Indeed, poststructuralism is vested in examining small-scale, localised, situated meanings and/or particularities, which are contingent and essentially *un*generalizable. Claims about generalizability, that is, the inferences made about the larger population based on a study, are discordant with post structural work. The emphasis on situatedness, fine detail and reluctance to make unsupported inferences, explains the disinclination to make assumptions about generalizability (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Riessman, 2008; Wood & Kroger, 2000). In addition, I made use of narrative methods and as Bell asserts, "The time commitment required makes it unsuitable for work with a large number of participants" (2002, p. 210). Indeed scholars within narrative inquiry explain this approach as suitable for "capturing detailed experiences of a single individual or the lives of a small number of individuals" (Creswell, 2013, p. 74). I add that because it necessitates close collaboration/relations with participants, also makes it less plausible to build those connections with big numbers of participants. Nevertheless, in keeping with and recognising the variability across and within identity categories, I recruited participants who are heterogeneous in terms of age, qualifications, and length of teaching experience as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Participants in the Study

Gender	Female	18	Total
Age	30-40	9	18
	40-50	5	
	50-60	2	
	60 and above	2	
Qualifications	PhD	9	18
	PhD student	4	
	Postgraduate	3	
	Postgraduate student	1	
	Bachelors	1	
Subjects	English	8	18
	Science	10	
Teaching experience (at university)	1-10	5	18
	11-20	11	
	21-30	2	
Position	Full time lecturer	14	18
	Part-time lecturer	4	
Marital status	Married	7	18
	Single	7	
	Separated	2	
	Cohabiting	2	
No. of children	None	6	18
	1-2	6	

	3-4	6	
Region of origin	North East West Central	2 3 3 10	18
Religion	Catholic Muslim	16 2	18

My focus on female teacher educators follows my aforementioned argument that women in Uganda overall, have been dominantly constructed using the victim narrative. As such, I remain committed to the goal of feminist research "to correct both the *invisibility* and the *distortion* of female experience in ways relevant to ending women's unequal social position…to see the world from women's place in it" (Callaway, 1981, p. 460, as cited in Lather, 1986, p. 68).

3.2.2. Ethical Considerations

In order to gain access to the university, I got official permission by writing official letters to the heads of each of the target departments, explaining the proposed study and requesting permission to work with the teacher educators (Appendix A). I then provided letters of invitation (Appendix B) to all potential participants in the English and science departments at the university. The letters of invitation provided details about the nature of the study. A consent form (Appendix C) bearing the ethical principles of the study, such as confidentiality and voluntary participation, which the participants were requested to sign in order to show consent, was attached to the letters of invitation. Cohen, Manion & Morrison suggest "building into the research scheme a time lag between the request for participation and decision time…to ensure that volunteers have real freedom of choice" (2008, p. 53). As such, the consent form was distributed in advance of data collection and participants given at least a week in which to respond to the request to take part in the study.

Yet, I recognize as argued by Josselson, that consent in narrative research is more relational, resulting from "an ethics of care rather than rights" (2007, p. 6). Connelly and Clandinin see it as "a negotiation of shared unity" (1990, p. 4) stating that it requires close relations like friendship, rendering the negotiations involved more complex. Josselson (2007) intimates that after reading various positions on ethical considerations in narrative research, like other scholars, she concluded that ethics is not a matter of following rules and guidelines, when working with narrations about people's lives. Narrative research is founded more on the trust and rapport the researcher is able to build with participants, rather than on what Josselson calls the explicit contract (such as consent forms). It is through this relationship she argues, that

"personal memories and experiences may be recounted in full, rich, emotional detail" (2007, p. 6). Given that most of my respondents were classmates and/or former colleagues, with whom we shared many experiences, made it easier for them to open up. I also shared my own experiences during the conversational interview, making it intimate, reciprocal and safe in some way.

Another thorny issue concerning feminist research ethical issues within narrative research is concerned with the politics of representation (Josselson, 2007; Lather, 1986; Ortner, 1995; Preissle & Han, 2012). The idea that researchers take participants' stories, and placing them into a larger narrative, impose their own meanings on participants' lived experiences is problematic. One of the questions that has confronted researchers in this regard is the possibility of participants' rebuttal of our interpretation of their experience, or the possibility of hurting their feelings because of our interpretations (Josselson, 2007). Some researchers suggest we share on-going narrative constructions with the participants. While this is indeed a legitimate way, I know from my experience conducting interviews with teachers in a previous study, that most participants do not accept to read the researcher narratives. At the same time, this approach assumes that it is possible to negotiate a shared single "truth" with the participants. I believe that whatever narrative emanates from the study is largely the researcher's interpretation. I also recognize as did Bell that "participants can never be quite free of the researcher's interpretation of their lives" (Bell, 2002, p. 209). In giving shape to a narrative by virtue of decisions about what is included or excluded, a researcher in some ways is likely to become coercive, subordinating and/or appropriate the narrator's storyline. In attending to this complexity, Smith and Watson advise that we relinquish "the widespread notion that indigenous texts produce a kind of unmediated authenticity" (Smith & Watson, 2010, p. 55). This notwithstanding, I shared the transcripts with each of the participants, who accepted the interview transcripts as their words.

Given that relationships are a key issue in narrative inquiry, I believe that reciprocity (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) is important. The relationship between the researcher and researched, in which both parties interact, exchange stories, and learn during the encounter was a "given" in terms of reciprocity within this study. Josselson affirms that because narrative research deals with real lives of real people", there is a lot of evidence that most people "find interviews with them healing, integrative, useful and meaningful" (2007, p. 33). Given the silence around broken relationships, which construe women as "failures", my interview provided a safe space for some of the women to talk, others even breaking down. One of the women told me during a casual Skype call, that the interview had taken her back to those dark days. She found herself in tears for a couple of days after that, receiving comfort from her children

who found her crying. It had reminded her about her inner strength. The interaction with the women sometimes got so emotionally charged. I felt privileged that the women I interviewed had shared so generously of their lives. Yet, even as I probed deeper into their stories, I felt a sense of intrusion into their private space. There are times when I wanted to know more, but simultaneously feared that I could fail to handle it. There were moments of intensity, when some of the women just stopped mid-sentence to pick some tissue and dub their eyes—at these times, I tried to comfort them, well aware—and guilty too, that I needed them to continue, because this was valuable data. Some of the stories were so distressing—I managed to hold myself together during the interview, but in the privacy of the analysis—there was no holding back—I found myself re-living some of the experiences. How can a researcher be prepared for this? *Can* the researcher be prepared to attend to trauma in ways that leave them unscathed? What about my respondents—had I somehow scratched the scab off a healing wound? How differently I could have undertaken these interviews remains slippery and elusive to me. Some of the stories resonated so closely with mine that they took me to places that I thought had been dead and buried. How much can we as researchers share, well aware that we make ourselves vulnerable in so doing? How much of my life should I put out there, given that once it is on paper I cannot take it back? Once it is on paper—it is subject to diverse interpretations—even distortion—once it is on paper, it is in some ways, no longer mine. In their paper on feminist research ethics, Preissle and Han rightly affirm, "feminist ethics likely generate as many issues as they may help either avoid or address" (2012, p. 527). The whole experience of peeking into the women's lives created a connection—a friendship, which I believe, is mutual. Additionally, because some of the women intend to pursue further studies, I provided some scholarship options, and even edited two applications and a research proposal.

As a practical matter, I used pseudonyms within the interview transcripts. These replaced the names of the participants as well the names of all those included in their stories, such as family, friends and places they have been to or lived in. This was meant to ensure that information cannot be traced back to them. As affirmed by Marshall and Rossman, ethical issues should not be "reduced to the procedural matters of gaining informed consent" (2011, p. 44) but should pervade each stage of the research process (Cohen et al., 2008). Indeed, citing McLeod (1994), Josselson argues that ethics within narrative research should take on a more reflexive rather than procedural approach. It requires, as she argues, "commitment to certain ethical values rather than a priori behaviours and may be difficult for ethics boards to monitor" (2007, p. 31). Feminist research ethics require an ethic of care as well as reflexivity interwoven within the research process (Ackerly & True, 2008; McCormic, 2012;

Oakley, 1981; Preissle & Han, 2012). As such, I reflexively engaged with ethical issues, as and when I recognize them during the research process.

3.3. Methods of Data Collection

The data sources for the study include interviews and journal entries.

3.3.1. Interviews

Interviews make it possible for qualitative researchers to delve beneath and probe beyond generalizations. By entering into dialogue with others, Fraser explains, "narrative interviewers may unearth hidden or subordinated ideas…These ideas are important because they may cast doubt on official accounts and established theories" (2004, p. 185). Anderson and Jack also suggest, "the interview is a critical tool for developing new frameworks and theories based on women's lives and women's formulations" (1991, p. 18, as cited in Fraser, 2004, p. 185). It was therefore a useful method for this study on female teacher educators' gendered lived experiences.

Semi-structured interviews (Appendix D) were conducted with the teacher educators, using open-ended questions. The respondents' permission was sought in order for any recording to take place during the interviews. The interviews were a conversational and/or an "interactional encounter" (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 121). The traditional qualitative preoccupation with neutrality in order to minimize the interviewer's presence was disregarded as we actively engaged in the co-construction of knowledge with participants. Given that this study was conducted among former colleagues, some of whom are close workmates, gave me a head start in building confidence in the interaction to enable an easy flow of conversation. Although I referred to the interview guide, I was more responsive to the idiosyncrasies of each conversation, creating interviews, which are "interviewee-oriented rather than instrument-oriented" (Reinharz, 1992, p. 38, as cited in Fraser, 2004, p. 185). Given that narrative inquiry is collaborative in the sense that it involves mutual storytelling and re-storying, Connelly and Clandinin remind researchers "to be aware of constructing a relationship in which both voices are heard" (1990, p. 5). This necessitates a shared construction of the research relationship, "a relationship in which both practitioners and re-searchers feel cared for and have a voice with which to tell their stories" (Connelley & Clandinin, 1990, p. 4). I shared my own life experiences with my participants, disclosing my own investments and experiences and allowing them to also ask questions. As such, I recognize as have other narrative research scholars (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Goodwin, 2015; Riessman, 2015; Slembrouck,

2015), that the "personal" narratives produced in these interview conversations were the outcome of a social interaction between the female teacher educators and myself as the researcher.

3.3.2. Journal Entries

I kept a journal in which I reflexively engaged with the interview questions even before I started interviewing my participants. This conjured up my own memories about my trajectory as a female teacher educator, which I interweaved with those of the female teacher educators in my study, in that sense becoming a part of the developing story. In so doing, I paid heed to Connelly and Clandinin's appeal to "to listen closely to teachers…to the stories of their lives in and out of classrooms. We also need to tell our own stories as we live our own collaborative researcher/teacher lives" (1990, p. 12).

Journaling was a scary venture mainly because I was at risk of laying myself bare, but also getting in touch with memories that might have best been left unshackled. The journaling continued right after each interview—as an on-going process, as I wrote down my own reflections that had been triggered and/or resonated with each interview—reflexively walking down/about "memory lane", as I interweaved my own experiences with the participants' stories. Creswell notes that, "within the participant's story may also be an interwoven story of the researcher gaining insight into her or his own life" (2013, p. 75). The narratives of the study were, as such, shared narrative reconstructions.

While my study relied on memories and/or acts of remembering, I recognize that "narrated memory is an interpretation of a past that can never be fully recovered. As Daniel L. Schacter has suggested, memories are records of how we have experienced events, not replicas of events themselves" (as cited in Smith & Watson, 2010, p. 22). I recognize as such, that while memory is key in shaping stories in self-narration, it is also selective and is capable of massive lapses. Further, narrative accounts are contingent on contexts, time, as well as discourses and/or knowledge(s) about the subject available to participants. Such accounts also depend upon the relationships within which they are produced. This had implications for my role as researcher to foster relationships that enable the "jogging" of memories.

The idea that self-narratives are constructed intersubjectively also foregrounds the irreducibility of the narratable self to the contents of the story (De Fina, 2015; Koven, 2015). The narratable self as well articulated by Tamboukou, "is always provisional, intersectional and unfixed. It is not a unitary core self, but rather a system of selves grappling with differences, and taking up subject positions, not in a permanent way, but rather temporarily, as points of departure for nomadic becomings"

(2008, p. 288). Indeed, interweaving my story with the other women made visible cultural discursive threads that have weave us into existence illuminating the connections between the self and others.

In intertwining my narratable selves with those of my participants, I pondered on the "crisis of representation"—one of the conundrums around analysis within narrative inquiry. The fundamental question in this regard is well posed in raising questions around "whose' story is being told, the researchers or the researched (or someone else's?), and for what purpose" (Cole, 2009, p. 571). Poststructuralism has attended to this in a way, by rendering interpretations less "authoritative", making narratives open to multiple interpretations (Cole, 2009; Shuman, 2015).

3.4. Data Analysis

Narrative studies make use of several data analysis strategies (Czarniawska, 2004; Polkinghorne, 1995; Riessman, 2008) to "restory" (Creswell, 2013) and/or organize the stories into a framework which makes sense. Analysis as "*always an on-going process*" (Rapley, 2004, p. 26) ensued after each interview. I replayed the audios and listened to the stories, registering memories as well emotions stimulated through the discussion, and making jottings to trigger further insights into my own experiences for my journal entries. This was then followed by transcription. The audio interviews were transcribed paying attention to detail. Nonetheless, acknowledging the scholarship on the politics and/or crisis of representation (Lather, 2001; Pillow, 2003; Scheurich, 1997), I recognize the impossibility of representing any of the interactions in their entirety.

The coding of transcripts and journal entries followed the transcription process. This idea of coding the world into specific categories, which I took up nonetheless, has been problematized by some post structural and post-humanist research (MacLure, 2013). This is because it "destroys valuable data by imposing a limited world view on the subjects" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 91) essentially "reducing complexity to simplicity, and differential relations to firm identities (Scheurich, 1997, p. 63). Recognizing this argument nonetheless, MacLure articulately makes a strong case that coding should not be abandoned as an analytic practice, urging us to rethink coding, "not as a static representation...but as an open-ended and on-going practice of *making sense*" (2013, p. 181). She affirms that coding should attend to the seemingly incomprehensible, as means of potentially disrupting the power/knowledge of the "objective" knower, thus providing possibility for rendering others intelligible and/or thinkable. In cognizance of this, I coded the transcripts and journal entries following both word by word as well as line by line coding, in order to capture as much of the

"juice" as possible. Coding was useful in essentially disaggregating the chunks of talk into segments of narratives/sets of ideas.

Stories with similar storylines were aggregated together. This has been described as "layered stories" by Ely (2007) in her paper on different modes of representing narratives. In terms of presenting narratives, scholars distance themselves from prescribing a specific structure (Czarniawska, 2004; Riessman, 2008), instead encouraging "individuals to write narrative studies that experiment with form" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, as cited in Creswell, 2013, p. 220). The juxtaposition of narratives about the same aspect, which the layering mode of representation affords, provided a rich picture of each theme, illuminating multiplicity and complexity, by showing different participants' perspectives side-by-side. This mode of representation honoured the complexity that my study seeks by disrupting dominant narratives. While stories on a specific aspect were aggregated together, divergent narratives and/or what Fraser refers to as "findings that are inconsistent, counter-intuitive, surprising and/or anomalous" (2004, p. 195) were also be named and represented. This phase can best be described in Polkinghorne (1995) words, as a "storytelling mode in which the narrative researcher shapes stories based on a plotline" (Creswell, 2013, p. 72). This phase also referred to as thematic analysis, informed the first and third research questions that respectively focused on female teacher educators' gendered lived experiences as presented in Chapter 4 and stories of agency as presented in Chapter 6.

Discourse analysis was yet another phase of the analysis of the data. Bell explains that "in its fullest sense, narrative inquiry requires going beyond…simply telling stories, to an analytic examination of underlying assumptions that the story illuminates" (2002, p. 208). As such, I analysed the discourses which frame the female teacher educator's stories—in what Fraser has referred to as "linking the personal with the political" (2004, p. 193). She argues, "Over many decades, feminists have underlined the importance of linking 'the personal with the political' (see Jackson, 1998; Reinharz, 1992; Segal, 1999; Yeatman, 1994;Young, 1990, 1997)" (Fraser, 2004, p. 193). This phase involved scanning across the diverse experiences of the teacher educators to establish how personal stories are informed by dominant discourses and related discursive practices. As such, I paid attention to and/or "spotted" (Sunderland, 2004) gendered discourses cited across the stories. In some instances, I drew specifically from interpretations of discourse that are well established in the literature in order to situate discourses from my study. Sunderland (2004) for example, maps out some dominant gendered discourses such as the "gender differences discourse", "the girls as good language users discourse", "the equal opportunities discourse" and so on. I made use of some of these to situate the

narratives from the female teacher educators' gendered lived stories. Baxter (2003) warns that locating discourses requires successive re-readings of field notes and/or replaying audiotapes in order to identify the discourses as well as practices that inscribe gendered meanings. Additionally, I was guided by some questions outlined by Fraser in order to spot discourses, such as "What relationships do the stories have to particular discourses? How do you imagine other theorists are likely to analyse the stories…Do the stories support, negate, or unsettle specific claims made about relevant discourses? …What do the stories say about the (multiple) lived experiences of class, gender, race, sexual orientation, age, dis/ability, religion and/or geographical locations?" (2003, p. 193). Baxter also outlines a couple of useful questions in this regard: "which words, terms or phrases were repeatedly used in the speech contexts and by whom? Which themes, issues and preoccupations were common in all transcripts? What connections, links and associations were apparent in what people were saying to each other? What contradictions, oppositions or competing viewpoints were apparent in what people were saying to each other?" (2003, p. 138). Situating narratives/stories into discourses is based on the idea that meanings have symbolic relations/associations given that they "bear traces of the social processes by which they were made" (Connell, 2008, p. 65). It also speaks to the idea that "discourses do not operate in discrete isolation from each other but are always *intertextually* linked, that is, each discourse is likely to be interconnected with and infused by traces of others" (Baxter, 2003, P. 8). These understandings shaped my interpretation of discourses.

The overall goal of an analysis using discourse analytic method "is to explain what is being done in the discourse and how this is accomplished" (Wood & Kroger, 2000, p. 96). In addition to situating the teacher educators' narratives within familiar discourses, I also named some discourses, which as far as I know, have not been named elsewhere in the literature. Wood and Kroger state that discourse analysts "may need to develop new terms or new concepts for discourse devices and functions" (2000, p. 94). They recommend this as one of the ways in which the field develops. I recognize nevertheless, that the identification and categorization of discourses that I undertook in this study is certainly neither exhaustive nor universally self-evident. I am aware that another researcher might illuminate different discourses from mine. This phase of analysing discourses informed the second research question, which focuses on discourses evoked within female teacher educators' gendered lived experiences as presented in Chapter 5.

3.5. Post structural Conception of Validity and Reliability

Traditional measures of validity in qualitative research are not useful in determining "accuracy" of data and have been questioned and problematized within the postmodern framework (Lather, 1986; Pillow, 2003). This is because "reliability and validity, as traditionally conceived … presume there is an objective world to be known" (Tracy, 1995, as cited in Wood & Kroger, 2000, p. 3). However, from a constructionist perspective, all versions of social reality are social constructions and "there are no 'true' representations of reality from which one can critique other, somehow less real, versions" (Philips & Hardy, 2002, p. 84).

Reflexivity has increasingly been taken up by post-structural studies as a way for the researcher to pay attention to his/her subjectivities throughout the research process (Lather & St. Pierre, 2013; Luttrell, 2009; Pillow, 2003; Riessman, 2015). Therefore, as Pillow affirms, "Reflexivity has become associated with or used as a measure of legitimacy and validity in qualitative research" (Pillow, 2003, p. 179). Qualitative researchers have been urged upon to position themselves in their writings, in ways that demonstrate cognizance of the biases, values, experiences that they bring to a qualitative research study. Reflexivity then, is an important way through which "to demonstrate one's awareness of the research problematics and is often used to potentially validate and legitimize research precisely by raising questions about the research process" (Pillow, 2003, p. 179). It recognizes that "who I am, who I have been, who I think I am, and how I feel affect data collection and analysis" (Altheid & Johnson, 1998, as cited Pillow, 2003, p. 176). Consistent with the social constructionist perspective, as Riessman affirms, "reflexivity exposes the constitutive nature of research: the inseparability of observer, observation, and interpretation" (2015, p. 221). It is a process of critical self-reflection on one's position (biases, interests, histories, experiences, theoretical orientations), which should be embedded throughout the whole research process, giving insights into what the researcher brings to the study. As Nayan affirms, "to acknowledge particular and personal locations is to admit the limits of one's purview from these positions. It is also to undermine the notion of objectivity, because from particular locations all understanding becomes subjectively based and forged through interactions within fields of power relations" (1993, p. 679). Reflexivity as such, demonstrates a researcher's awareness of the ways in which his and/or her personal history can affect the research process. Scheurich recognizes however, that "it is simply not possible to exhaustively name all the conscious and unconscious baggage that the researcher brings to the interpretative moment" (1997, p. 74). Therefore, while I attended to some dimensions of reflexivity throughout the study, I do not claim to engage with all of them.

Reflexivity has nonetheless been problematized especially for its humanist entrapments, Pillow (2003) recommends nevertheless, that we continue to use it while recognizing its limitations. One way of doing this is through making the inquirer's 'position' explicit (Creswell, 2013). Creswell advises that this explicitness can be expressed in two ways. The first is when "the researcher first talks about his or her experience with the phenomenon being explored. This involves relaying past experiences through work, schooling, family dynamics, and so forth. The second part is to discuss how these past experiences shape the researcher's interpretation of the phenomenon" (2013, p. 216). He explains that these should be threaded throughout the study by talking about research position from the introduction to the conclusion. It is with this in mind that I made my researcher subjectivities explicit throughout the dissertation, recognizing my personal history can and *would* influence the entire research process. As Laurel Richardson affirms, researchers "do not have to try to play God, writing as disembodied omniscient narrators claiming universal and atemporal general knowledge" (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005, p. 961, as cited in Creswell, 2013, p. 214). As such, I attempted to lay myself bare, turning the mirror on myself (Riessman, 2015) to disclose relevant aspects of my biography such as my school, work and career trajectories, also raising questions along the way, in order to position myself and/or provide insights into the biases, experiences and/or "baggage" I brought to the qualitative study. I also pointed out my own assumptions, questioning my own "truths", even as I took them up and affirmed them throughout the dissertation. This is a move to "produce research that questions its own interpretations and is reflexive about its own knowledge production" (Hertz, 1997, as cited in Pillow, 2003, p. 178).

Creswell affirmed that the second part of reflexivity, which requires showing how past experiences shape the research process is "often overlooked or left out. It is actually the heart of being reflexive in a study" (2013, p. 216). I would argue that this perspective draws on humanist notions of the rational, knowing subject who can *know* how his subjectivities affect the process. I believe that there are many confounding factors, which shape the knowledge production within a text, rendering it implausible to necessarily trace causality to specific subjectivities. The idea of getting a definitive account is therefore futile given that narrative understanding and/or reflexivity is inherently interpretive. As Freeman affirms, "although we can certainly hope for *better* accounts – more comprehensive, deeper, more fully able to accommodate the known facts – there is no final point of arrival…in the realm of narrative, we are always and inevitably reading for meaning, knowing all the while that our accounts are destined to remain provisional" (2015, p. 29). As such, rather than explain how the positionalities I describe shape the study, I stick to a self-disclosure recognizing and

demonstrating that my research observations, engagement with and interpretation of the data are but inseparable from me as the researcher. This should give the reader a glimpse into the person and process that produced the scholarly product.

Further, some scholars contending that a positionality and/or reflexivity should move beyond a recitation of one's personal characteristics, have illuminated the political dimensions of their reflexive work (Andrews, 2007, 2013; Bell, 2009; Gill, 2010; Luttrell, 2003, 2013 as cited in Riessman, 2015). As Riessman explains, "a stronger reflexivity reflects on the political dimension of the entire research process" (2015, p. 230). This, according to Luttrell involves engaging with the ways in which our projects rest on taken-for-granted truths that are "created by systems of power, privilege and patterns of inequality" (2010, p. 4). I attended to this in my narrative by connecting personal stories to the discourses and discursive practices cited and/or inscribed therein, illuminating the political dimension of my positionality as well as the other narratives within my inquiry. The purpose of reflexivity as a mode of analysis within narrative and post structural work is to account for situated selves within the research process thereby lending research credibility and validity.

Finally, I also recognize that while I use my interpretative authority for the analysis, it is not supreme, and as thus, far from a master narrative, the final product it but one among a myriad of possible interpretation. My analysis as such, was not an endeavour to establish "the truth" in interviewees' narratives, but rather how specific (and sometimes contradictory) *truths* are produced, sustained, negotiated. Far from producing the "truth", I recognize that there are multiple possibilities for representing stories and, as well articulated by Hyden (1994), "[A] narrative is never concluded, it is always subject to reconstruction and reinterpretation" (p. 109, as cited in Fraser, 2004, pp. 195-196).

3.6. Conclusion

The study, informed by post structural feminist theory and agency, made use of narrative inquiry to elicit stories from English and science Ugandan female teacher educators from a specific university, about their gendered lived experiences. The study sought to address three research questions: 1) What stories do female teacher educators in a Ugandan university narrate to demonstrate their gendered lived experiences? 2) What discourses do these women invoke, deploy and/or enact in talking about gender in their lived experiences? 3) How are relations of domination and subordination reproduced and/or resisted in existing socio-cultural forms of interaction within the Ugandan context? I made use of interviews, as well as journaling, interweaving their stories with mine. The analysis of the data was

undertaken firstly using thematic analysis. This generated the stories, addressing the first and second research questions. The second phase of data analysis was done using discourse analysis, to identify discourses cited within the teacher educators' narratives. This addressed the third research question of the study. Reflexivity was taken up as a way of validating the data.

Chapter 4
Gendered Narratives in Female Teacher Educators Lived Experiences

None of us are to be found in sets of tasks or lists of attributes; we can be known only in the unfolding of our unique stories within the context of everyday events (Vivian Gussin Paley, 1990, p. xii)

4.1. Introduction

Feminist scholars have rejected the monolithic construction of non-Western women and girls in ways that re-inscribe polarized constructions of the "civilized" Western versus the "primitive" non-Western (Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010; Fennell & Arnot, 2008; Kaomea, 2000; Mohanty, 2003; Oyeˇwùmí, 1997; Sensoy & Marshall, 2010). In "Under Western Eyes", Mohanty (2003) problematizes the ways in which Western feminism has labelled women in the Third World and/or the global South as universally poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, reducing them to oppressed, vulnerable, voiceless victims. The women from the global South have been juxtaposed with universally liberated, intelligent, educated Western women who enjoy equality, and can exercise control over their own bodies and sexuality. This categorization as expounded in Chapter 1, is implicated in asymmetries of power that espouse Western feminists as gatekeepers of knowledge, also compromising women's solidarity by polarizing and pitting women from the global North against those from the global South. This archetypal grouping, which overlooks the extant complexity, diversity, and multiplicity of women in the non-Western world, also risks freezing them in a socio-political fixed powerless position, discounting the efforts and gains achieved through feminist struggle.

In this chapter, I present gendered self-narratives of Ugandan female teacher educators' lived experiences. The women narrated stories illuminating their trajectories as girls and as women within homes, school, and work spaces, demonstrating the diversity in the realities of navigating these spaces, and, disrupting the pervasive universal victim narrative. In looking at each transcript, I highlighted stories/plotlines narrated about gendered relations. By aggregating and/or weaving together similar plotlines, I created what Ely (2007) has described as "layered stories", which reflect specific gendered thematic concerns. The layering of stories under specific themes juxtaposes the women's stories, highlighting the relation and/or contradictions in their realities, and as such illuminating multiplicity and complexity in the women's lives. The layered stories are organized under titles I chose because they reflect the theme and/or concerns therein. I include my own experiences, sometimes written as poems in resonance with the women's stories. I also include an outlier plotline reflecting the experiences of one woman, which did not closely resonate with other women's experiences. This is presented in section 4.3.5 entitled "Not a Woman!" After each theme is an analysis to make sense of the stories using feminist literature. The analysis of experiential stories addressed the first research question, providing insights into stories female teacher educators tell about their gendered lived experiences.

In structuring this chapter, I first briefly introduce each of the female teacher educators in the section, "Meeting the female teacher educators: Brief biographies." I provide insights into their ages, qualifications, job descriptions, working experience and marital status. Secondly, I focus on "Narrating Female Teacher Educators' Gendered Lived Experiences," which are thematically organized to juxtapose similar plotlines, highlighting diversity. At the end of each theme, I discuss the stories therein, situating them within relevant literature to shed light on the multiplicity in the women's trajectories. This chapter demonstrates that even within specific spaces such as in school, home and work, women have diverse experiences, which exceed the universal victim narrative. However, far from producing the women in my study as subjects who conquered the gender regimes within their societal relations, I illuminate the diverse tensions and struggles as each woman navigates the gendered arrangements in their society. Indeed, the individual tensions and contradictions within the women's realities accentuated the idea of survival, agency and resistance to gendered arrangements, which is the focus of chapter 6. As such, the stories trouble the women's pervasive construction as monolithic subjects. Finally, I close the chapter with a conclusion recapping key findings.

4.2. Meeting the Female Teacher Educators: Brief Biographies

Dr. Bitte, 50 years old, is a dean, and teacher educator within a school of education at a Ugandan university. She has worked at this university since 1992, teaching English language and qualitative research. Before joining the university, she taught English for three months at a single sex catholic boys' school. She has a Bachelor of Education as well as a PhD from Makerere University in Uganda. She is the second born of nine children (3 girls and 6 boys). She has three children, two at the university and one in secondary school.

Brandy, 37 years old, is currently a business development lead within an engineering firm which specializes in aviation and rail in South Africa. She is also a guest lecturer at two universities in Uganda, where she has taught since 2004. She holds a Bachelor's Degree in Engineering from Makerere University in Uganda, and is a civil engineer by profession. She also holds an MBA as well as a PhD from a university in the U.S. Brandy's father is a dentist and her mother a medical doctor. She comes from a family of eight siblings. She is single, and has lived with her boyfriend for 13 years now.

Carol, 40 years of age, teaches physics at the university, and has a part-time job in an international school in Kampala. She first taught at Gayaza high school, an affluent school for 5 years. She then resigned from her job for about 7 years in order to devote time to her children. She has Bachelors in Education from Makerere University. She is married and has two sons and one daughter.

Fida, 65 years of age, is one of the few female physics teacher educators in Uganda. She is an associate professor and former dean within the Department of Physics at her university, where she has taught for thirty years. She did her postgraduate studies—both the Master of Science as well as her PhD in physics at Makerere University. She is married, but separated and has two boys at the university, and one girl, who finished school and is employed.

Tino, 36 years, is a lecturer in the Department of Forestry where she has taught since 2009. She previously taught chemistry and biology at secondary school, before doing her masters and joining the university as a lecturer. She did her Masters in Uganda, at Makerere University, and her PhD in Austria. She is single, and has one daughter and a partner with whom she lives.

Gloria, 32 years of age, is a lecturer within the Department of Physics where she has worked since 2009. She is in the last year of her PhD in physics at Makerere University. She lives with her boyfriend who is also a lecturer with a PhD.

Liz, 40 years old, is acting Head of Department at the Faculty of Engineering at Makerere University. She is also a lecturer who has worked at the university since 2003, first as a teaching assistant, assistant lecturer and now as a full lecturer in her department. She teaches both undergraduate and postgraduate students. Before her university position, she worked in an engineering firm, as a maintenance engineer in charge of supervising all maintenance works for Shell, Caltex and Total Uganda. She did her Masters at Makerere University in Uganda, and her PhD at a university in the UK. She is single.

Jenny, 42 years, is currently a lecturer in the Department of Chemistry, where she has taught for 13 years. She previously worked as a researcher, teaching assistant, assistant lecturer, and is now as a lecturer. She did her Master in Science, as well as her PhD in Chemistry at Makerere University. She is married and has three children.

Cherry, 44 years of age, has taught physics and math in secondary school for 14 years, and is currently a national math teacher trainer as well as a part-time lecturer within the math department. She has held both positions for 6 years now. She completed her masters in math at Makerere University, and intends to her PhD in math. She is married, and has two children. Her daughter is pursuing a degree in medicine, while her son just completed his O' level.

Biru, 53 years, is a teacher educator within the department of languages where she has taught for at least 15 years. Before joining the university, she taught English and Literature at several secondary schools. She upgraded from a diploma in secondary education, to a degree in education, a master's degree and then a doctorate. She did her Masters at Makerere University, and her PhD at a university in the UK. She is married, and has two sons.

Professor Musta, 68 years, is a professor, and senior lecturer in the university. She finished her PhD by the age of 25 at University of York in the UK. She was then appointed as lecturer at the University of Zambia. She also worked at universities in Tanzania and Botswana before moving to Makerere in Uganda, where she has taught for over 30 years. She has held several positions at the university such as head of department and dean. She is single.

Faith, 42 years of age, has been a lecturer of English, Communication Skills and Linguistics since 2003. She previously served as a teacher of English in several secondary schools, before doing her masters and joining the university as a teaching assistant. She did her masters in Linguistics from Norway and then her PhD in Linguistics at a university in the UK. She is currently doing her post doc at a university in the UK. She is single, and has two children.

Jose, 38 years, has taught English language and methods of teaching language for 5 years now. She previously taught in English and Literature at different secondary

schools. She did her master's degree at Makerere University, and has received admission to pursue her PhD in South Africa. She is married and has four children.

Dina, a graduate student in the Department of English at a university in the US, is also an assistant lecturer in the Department of Literature at a university in Uganda, where she has served since 2003. She did her masters at a university in the UK and is currently a PhD student in the US. She is 37 years of age, is single and has a son.

Sr. Lucretia, 50 years of age, is a nun who has taught at the university for 10 years. She teaches methodology and English language studies. She first taught in secondary school for 8 years before joining the university. She did her bachelor's degree, masters at Makerere University in Uganda, and is currently enrolled as a PhD student in the Netherlands. She joined the convent as a nun at about 19 years of age.

Jamila, 39 years works as a relationship manager in a bank. She has also been a part time lecturer of physics for 9 years. She has a bachelor's degree in education from Makerere University, and is pursuing an MBA from a university in the U.K. She is Muslim by religion, and is currently married to a Muslim man. They have two of their own children and a stepdaughter who belongs to her husband.

Brenda, 41 years, is a teacher educator within the Department of Math. She also teaches geography as a part time teacher within a secondary school. She is in the process of completing her master's thesis and intends to enrol for a PhD in mathematics. She is single.

Lydia, 38 years, is the current researcher. I hold a Bachelor in Education, and Masters in Linguistics from Makerere University. I also hold a Master of Science in Educational Research from Manchester University in the U.K. I am currently pursuing a PhD in Gender and Diversity at Gent University in Belgium. I previously taught English and Literature in Ugandan secondary schools. I am currently a teacher educator of English and Literature within the university. I am a first born of seven siblings. My father, an agricultural economist is now a businessperson, and my late mother worked as an accountant in a bank. I am married and have three children.

4.3. Narrating Female Teacher Educators' Gendered Lived Experiences

The female teacher educators' stories were layered thematically. "The road not chosen" illuminates the women's career trajectories as teacher educators; "Hiccups in schooling" focuses on stories around challenges the women faced in school; "Girls and their fathers" illuminates the ways in which girls related with their fathers, and how this propelled them on; "Men as allies within male dominated spaces"

demonstrates the ways in which men used their institutional power to create room for the women to advance; "Not a woman!" demonstrates the struggles of women to break free of patriarchal structures that impeded their upward mobility; "Wifie-in-the-making and Okukyalira ensiko" illuminates the ways in which girls were monitored and regulated in ways that prepared them to enact practices that would mark them as "good" wives in the future, and prepare them sexually for their place as wives who can sexually gratify their husbands within heterosexual marriage arrangements; "Checking the marriage and children 'achievement' box" illuminates the women's struggles around the valorisation of marriage and children within the Ugandan context; "Tales of damnation" provides insights into fears evoked at the upward mobility of women within public spaces; "Detours en route the PhD" demonstrates the struggles of women during upward mobility towards their PhD; "Children and career: A jigsaw puzzle" illuminates the women's struggles around juggling family and career; "It's OK to touch a woman's boob" shows the impunity in deployment of men's power to sexually abuse women. In what follows, I expound each theme, choosing the most telling stories in this regard.

4.3.1. The Road *Not* Chosen: Settling for Teaching as a Career

Robert Frost's "The Road Not Taken," is about making choices. The speaker in the poem, as a traveller, comes upon a crossroad and/or a fork-in-the-road and must decide which way to go. Both ways were equally worn and equally overlaid with un-trodden leaves. The speaker chose one, intending to take the other another day, well aware about the unlikelihood of doing so. The poem describes the feeling of being stuck between a rock and a hard place in choosing between two equally desirable things. Most striking in the poem is its archetypal dilemma—the idea of choice, encountered innumerably both literally and figuratively in our lives. While this poem is evoked in my thinking about the female teacher educators' as well as my own career trajectory, the archetypical dilemma in career choice was a luxury that most of women in my study did not get to indulge.

Bitte, now a professor and dean at a school of education in a Ugandan university, had wanted to become a lawyer.

> **Bitte:** I wanted to be a lawyer…I wasn't given law which I missed by 0.1…unfortunately, in my year there was still no private sponsorship…so I had to take the government scholarship or miss admission…I actually even tried to change my course…I then did education but of course very grudgingly.

This dream to become a lawyer was thwarted because of the lack of private sponsorship schemes at the university at the time. This meant that students did not

have much option beyond pursuing whatever courses they had been admitted to do on a government scholarship. The opportunity to apply for a change of course was a possibility, which Bitte took with the hope of switching from education to law. This however was shattered when students from war ravaged northern Uganda, who had missed admission the previous year returned, leaving no room for students like Bitte to gain admission in their places. As such, she settled for education—in her words, grudgingly. This echoes my own journey into teaching as a career. My first choice had been a degree in social work and social administration, which I was not admitted for. While the private sponsorship scheme had started at the university by the time I was there, my father could not afford to pay the tuition, leaving me with no choice but to do education, which the government would pay for. I settled for this "fate", promising to "redeem" myself from teaching as soon as I could.

As a child, had been fascinated with going to the moon: "I just imagined if I could also go to the moon because there were Americans who had gone to the moon…That was just fascination." She did not identify as a tomboy as girls like her were often labelled "I was not a tomboy…girls who want to dress like boys, fight with boys. But in terms of wanting to compete with them, it was one of my biggest things." She usually outperformed the boys in her class in the science subjects, and was allowed—albeit reluctantly, to pursue science subjects. Fida did not score as highly as she had expected, as she got pregnant during her last year in secondary school. Nonetheless, she scored enough points to get an admission on a government scholarship to pursue a degree in education at the university. She committed to do her best in this program even though it was not her chosen career.

Gloria's parents encouraged her to take on a medical career, as did most parents she admits, whose children excelled in the sciences. Proudly outcompeting boys in her male dominated science classes, Gloria had aspired to become an engineer.

> Gloria: I wanted to become an engineer—the telecom companies had come up and I wanted to work in there…I really wanted to do electrical engineering…Then wow—I ended up in physics. I did not like it. I saw my friends…studying engineering, and I, struggling with physics and education.

She had really wanted to work in the telecom industry, which as she explained had gained ground in Uganda at the time. She was envious of her friends who had made it to engineering school. Indeed her grades in the first year of her program were low. Gloria eventually started putting more effort into her program, developing a love for physics in the process. In high school, she explained, teachers had taught physics, giving too many notes, without showing the fun and relevance of it to everyday life. She also complained that the smaller number of girls within physics is attributable to

the ways in which it is presented as a hard subject. It is after Gloria realized the relevance of physics to the everyday that she picked interest in it, even considering a career as a lecturer of physics at a university.

Liz, currently an acting head at the faculty of engineering, had a passion for jobs in which she would work with gadgets. As she explains, "I have always wanted to be in a job with gadgets (excitement)…the idea of putting on a helmet…boots…it seems like two things would get me here—one was being in the army or police while the other one was engineering—both masculine." She eventually chose to become an engineer rather than work in the army or police because the latter was not as prestigious as the former. Liz's first choice had therefore been electrical engineering, which she chose because it was considered as a female friendly engineering field. She did not make the required points for electrical engineering, getting admission for mechanical engineering instead.

Brenda had wanted to be a pilot, which is why she chose to do math and geography as key disciplines for aviation: "I just loved it—have you ever seen the pilots? Their aura in getting into the plane (admiration)—I just wanted to be that." When she did not get this, she switched to the ambition to work as an air hostess: "I used to look at the air hostesses and they were just doing so well—you don't struggle lining up for visas—you get to do shopping—they would have nice stuff—this I bought in Belgium, this in New York. I am the type of person who loves unique things—all of this drove me crazy." She once applied for a job for which 1,200 applicants did an aptitude test. She was among the 26 shortlisted, and even if she did not get the job, she derived so much satisfaction for having been considered and short-listed out of 12,000. Eventually, as she put it, "when all this did not work, I settled for education."

Jenny, currently a lecturer within a chemistry department at a university, might have made it to the medical school at the university had she gone to better performing schools: "So you know I really wanted to do medicine…The A' level school I went to was not the best." She was admitted to pursue a Bachelor of Science degree at the university, which at the time was called a "flat degree" and/or non-professional degree. This saddened her. After her first year, Jenny chose to major in chemistry, despite discouraging remarks about the difficulty of the subject as well as the limited future prospects. Jenny and her friend Marjorie, who had both insisted on specializing in chemistry, were "also warned that the prospects of chemistry meant we would end up only as classroom teachers." Jenny and Marjorie concerned that chemistry would only get them jobs as classroom teachers, sought counsel from one of their lecturers who illuminated diverse future prospects within the field of chemistry.

In Gayaza, where Prof. Musta went for secondary school, her career opportunities were restricted right from the beginning, as she was streamed in the Arts class. By the time the opportunity do further studies came, she knew she wanted to work in a university. The professors within her university English language studies program identified her competence in the analysis of languages. She was recommended and interviewed by a professor from the University of York, who also cautioned her affirming, "Linguistics is not everybody's cup of tea…It is technical, it is science…Are you prepared to really do it?" Musta affirmed that she was prepared and seeing the determination of the young woman at the time, the professor promised that he would officially communicate the award of the scholarship in due course. This is how Professor Musta's career as a linguistics scholar started.

Jamila, a part-time teacher educator in the physics department and a fulltime banker, only pursued an education degree at Makerere University because she got admission and a government scholarship to fund the program. She explained that because she is rather an impatient person, she never had a passion for teaching, also adding that teaching, as a career in Uganda is prohibitive because it promises a low pay compared to other professions. Jamila initially refused to join the university for education, appealing to her father to let go to Kyambogo University for a diploma in mechanical engineering. It is her uncle, however, an employee in the education commission in Rwanda who managed to convince Jamila to pursue the degree in education. She agreed but informed her father that as soon as she could afford it, she would do professional courses in accounting and move on, which is what she is in the process of accomplishing.

Faith, whose parents were both teachers had the passion to become a teacher: "I remember my friends dreamt of becoming pilots and so on—I dreamt of becoming a teacher." Although Education was her first choice in applying for admission at the university, she missed admission on a government scholarship by 0.1 points. Faith explained that because her parents were poor, they could not afford to pay for admission on a private scheme, which is why she ended up in a national teacher training college to pursue a diploma in secondary school teaching. Later on, Professor Walusimbi, one of the lecturers at Makerere University told her that if she could get a first class in her diploma, she would be eligible for admission to the university on a government scholarship. As such, faith worked very hard, excelled with a first class, and made it to Makerere University on a government scholarship. She later did her master's degree in linguistics in Norway and later graduated with a PhD from a university in the U.K.

Dina is currently a lecturer within a school of education and a PhD student in a university in the U.S. While she graduated with a degree in education, she had never

aspired to become a teacher: “No! No! I just ended up as a teacher.” She had wanted to do law but did not get the points. Although she had passed economics and would have opted for a business related program, her stepsister, whom she lived with at the time, insisted that she take education and specialize in literature, claiming there were very few literature teachers and as such, Dina would easily get a job. Dina vowed to leave teaching within secondary schools as soon as she could. Indeed, after the last part of her school practice, she applied for a job at the university, where she was recruited as a tutorial assistant.

Sr. Lucretia, a nun and teacher educator within a university school of education, had wanted to become an airhostess. She had been inspired by a fancy aunt who had worked in the airline: “She looked so fancy, wearing fancy stockings, looking so nice, and each time she came home, we would gather and just look at her from head to toe, with so much admiration.” Sr. Lucretia soon switched to the ambition of medical doctor, which was inspired by her bigger brother who had told them so much about the human body each time he returned from the university. Her brother eventually dropped medicine for forestry, which discouraged Sr. Lucretia, for she thought medicine was certainly difficult. She then decided to become a teacher like one of her sisters as well as some members of her family: “There are four teachers in the family so I figured it would be something good. As I grew up, I came to secondary school, I had teachers who were nuns—kind, hardworking, and so I wanted to become a nun.” Sr. Lucretia then chose to take up teaching as a profession, and to join the convent as a nun.

Overall, the stories concerning settling for teaching as a profession indicate diversity in the career aspirations of these women. They had aspired for professions like law, social work, medicine, engineering, banking, piloting and teaching. A range of factors such as role models, opportunities available, parents’ encouragement, and their own passions had inspired the women. As such, these women’s stories of dreams, passion, desire and ambition, trouble the universalistic label of women from the global South as poor, uneducated, tradition bound and inherently victimized (Mohanty, 2003; Stone-Mediatore, 1998).

Nonetheless, the paucity of female science teacher educators within the university school of education was evident. Most of the science women I interviewed held part-time positions while the arts teacher educators all held full time positions. This corroborates research on the underrepresentation of girls in the sciences in Uganda and elsewhere in the world (Gonzalez, Jurado, & Naldini, 2013; Muhwezi, 2003; Namatende-Sakwa & Longman, 2013; Ochwa-Echel, 2011). Further, most women had to settle for teaching, having scored insufficient points for university admission into their desired career disciplines. Some of the respondents did not even

have a say about the subjects in which they specialized as teachers. Teaching, which is considered a "woman's" job (Trouve-Finding, 2005), is generally poorly remunerated in Uganda, compared to other professional fields. This has histories in the idea that women seen traditionally as nurturers, are naturally inclined to take care of students and the school. As such care work is seen as fulfilling and rewarding for women. However, rather than wallow in victimhood associated with teaching as a profession in Uganda, most of these women returned to school, attaining postgraduate qualifications which have earned most of them positions as teacher educators within the university. Teaching at the university, which is also male dominated (Bagilhole, 2002; Benshop & Brouns, 2003; Crabtree et al., 2009), is associated with autonomy in choice of teaching content and schedule, which as the women explained provides possibility for them, most of whom are mothers and wives, to spend more time with their families. It has also afforded them a higher status, as well as higher remuneration for their work. Against the risk of celebratory entrapments, I emphasize here that the battle is not won, as women continue to grapple with gendered regimes of male hegemony within the ivory tower (Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016; Kubuabola, Rich, & Shah, 2016). Nonetheless, their struggles dispel the pervasive victim narrative, accentuating agency as expounded in Chapter 6.

4.3.2. Hiccups in Schooling

This section is focuses on the women's stories about their schooling experiences as girls in Ugandan schools. The women tell stories largely about struggles around tuition, pregnancy, discrimination, alcoholism, emotional turmoil, broken homes, polygamy, and sexual harassment. These stories reveal a multiplicity in their realities as schoolgirls, dispelling any monolithic representation of the women in their struggle against gendered concerns as expounded further in Chapter 6.

In starting with my own experience, I remember financial struggle as an enduring concern all the way through my upper secondary to my first postgraduate degree. When my father worked a stable job, my tuition had been a non-issue. I always handed him the bank slip and my list of school requirements, which he attended to without as much as a frown. This changed however and got worse over the years during my A' level. I vividly remember how belittling it was when teachers came to the classroom after a few weeks into the term, with a list of those who had not paid fees. In those moments, I always silently and earnestly prayed that my name would not be called out as one of the "school fees defaulters" as students who had not paid tuition were referred to. There is a time I returned home, just before my final O' level final exam, only to find all of my siblings at home too. I do not know how my dear father did it, but we were all back in school by the end of the week. At that time,

I attended an affluent school where most students' parents did not default on fees. I felt "small" and poor when I showed face back in school. I soon got over it, reverting to hard work.

Bitte's experience was no different, "I had those kinds of problems as well," she affirmed. She had had financial challenges right from S.3 because her father no longer had a job. She had then worked during holidays in order to pay her own school fees, which her father sometimes supplemented by selling a cow: "from the time I was in S.3 to the time I joined the university every holiday I would make sure I do something to get money." One of her moneymaking ventures involved making local brew: "So I remember by the time I was joining the university I had money (laughter). Unfortunately, I stopped the business when I joined the university…I stopped it because of the war." Bitte's business was affected by the war in Northern Uganda, which lasted over 20 years, depriving a generation of children from attaining an education. When the war escalated, Bitte did not return home for two years, and as such, the business could not continue. On a lighter note, Bitte had saved up enough money to put herself through university.

Fida, a former dean in the physics department got pregnant at the age of 18, just before she could do her final examinations. Compounded with being the head girl, her father was also a teacher in her school, accentuating the shame and guilt of hurting her father. Nonetheless, as she explains, her father allowed her to continue with school, and, even return home, unlike most families at the time who disowned, forcefully married off and/or sent pregnant girls away from home. While the pregnancy affected her performance, she managed to get a university entrance pass. Fida's parents took care of her daughter Ines, who is now a 42-year-old statistician. Fida recalls the difficulty of pregnancy in school—the humiliation of walking in and attending the lessons. Luckily, for her, it was a boarding school, which saved her the commute between home and school.

Looking back, Fida explains that her parents sacrificed a lot to see her and her siblings through school. None of them was ever sent away from school for non-payment of school fees. In hindsight, she realizes that although her mother was a stay-home-mum, she tended the gardens and kept cows, ensuring that all food and vegetables came from the garden. She also grew cotton, which was then sold. Fida and her siblings participated in both farming and selling the produce from the garden. As such, Fida's mother's work complemented her father's schoolteacher income. As Fida learned later on, her parents had agreed that that his salary would pay school fees. It is from this that Fida learned to prioritize her children's school fees: "I don't allow a child to be sent home for school fees…I have to work hard even if there is almost no money, school fees comes first."

Tino had had it smooth through most of her schooling years. Her father, a polygamous man, had had 13 children. Of these Tino's mother had five. However, all 13 children lived with Tino's father and mother. Tino's father later passed away, leaving Tino's mother to fend for the family. She coped well given that her husband had left some property such as houses for rent, and gardens in which they grew their own food. Tino's financial issues started however, after A' level when her mother also passed away. Tino's guardians were uncertain whether it made sense for her to continue with school when so many of her siblings had not been through the system. They thought that since she had received some education, it made sense for her to take a short cut, and do a shorter advanced course rather than a degree, so that opportunity could be availed to her younger siblings to progress until a certain level of education. In the end, however, her guardians decided to let her continue with school. For the first time in as far as she could remember, Tino joined school at least two weeks after everybody else. When she completed her A' level, she had not made the points for a government funded course. Her guardians told her about Kulika, an organization that funds disadvantaged but bright girls. She applied for a scholarship, which took her through her university education.

Given that Gloria's father had a big family of 9 children, he sometimes failed to raise their school fees in time: "we used to get sent back home for non-payment…we found ourselves getting sent away from school a couple of times." Liz could relate to Gloria's experience in some way. Growing up in a polygamous home with 12 siblings meant that Liz's father struggled to pay school fees for all his children. Her father's brothers, who felt that they needed more educated people in the family, took up the children's school fees. Each child's school fees was sorted as long as they showed good results. Her uncles did not care if the children were girls or boys, as their biggest concern was to raise a family of educated people, which they achieved.

When Jenny's parents separated, she was sent off to live with her aunt and uncle. She did not get to enjoy the pleasures of playing without a care, as did other children, because as she explained, she was preoccupied with either schoolwork or domestic chores. She was highly aware that it is this hard work that would get her guardians to pay her school fees. While she acknowledges that hard work is a good thing, which has influenced the kind of person she is today, she recognizes that the burden as a child to prove herself in order to advance, was too heavy.

Biru's struggles in schooling were mostly emotional as she narrated. She went to King's College Budo an elitist school, for her lower secondary education. Most students came from affluent two-parent homes. She got the sense that she did not really belong, and with this, came "a lot of inner struggle", as she fought to fit in:

"Because you had to prove a lot…which kind of holds up back, that you can never measure up." Studying with boys who were very clever compounded this struggle. She explains that poverty and mediocrity in terms of her academic work did not help matters. She was glad though that she always excelled in English in which she got distinctions all the way. The fact that her parents were separated meant that Biru was "thrown around—this time you are staying with an uncle. My father worked in Kenya, for the longer holidays we went to Kenya, and then sometimes we stayed with my mother. It is difficult to locate myself." When her father moved back to Uganda from Kenya with his Kenyan wife, the family lived in a house with so many people, and clicks developed within the home. She remembers the rumours circulated by her older stepbrother alleging that Biru did not reach school but always stopped in town to loiter. For Biru then, the instability in the home was her greatest struggle when she was in school. She believes that this can affect performance, and, can hurt the child much more than the lack of school fees.

Faith's father—"God bless him" as she asserts, was an alcoholic. It is only as an adult, that she has come to understand that alcoholism is a disease. Her father was away most of the time. However, the few times he was around, and sober, he was as she states, "a loving man." When her mother could not take it anymore, she left him and moved to Kampala city with her seven children: "You can imagine it was 7 children and she was a single parent, on a primary school teacher's salary. It was really tough." They moved to a place called Kisugu a family house, which had belonged to Biru's mother's parents. The children dug, growing their own food. They also went to the primary school in which Biru's mother was a teacher, making it possible for her to negotiate for extra time to pay the school fees. When they moved to secondary school however, they sometimes stayed home for over a month while school was in session, because Biru's mother could not raise the school fees for all of them in time. They did not even have uniform "—natunga ekisaati nga kikwambadde", to mean the mother sewed up oversize shirts, which they wore to school walking barefooted. This she explains "killed my self-esteem." Further, because they lived in their late grandparents' house, her mother's siblings often dropped off their children, "So at one point we were 18 in total!" The community, in which they lived as she explained, was not supportive, suspecting them of stealing food from their gardens, because they could not understand how else a single mother could feed such a large family.

Faith and one of her brothers eventually moved in with their older sister who had recently gotten married. This was meant to make the commute to school cheaper. The sister's husband however, attempted to rape Faith: "I threatened to scream…and he feared…but said he will be back." The siblings then left their sister's home the

following day, telling their father about this incident. Faith thanked God for having spared her life, because both her sister and her husband eventually passed on due to HIV. The two siblings then moved in with their father, and got admission in Kako, a secondary school in which their father was a teacher: "but remember he was an alcoholic—a constant shame." She recalls how one girl had walked up to her and asked her: "Are you really, really sure that Mr. Kafu is your dad?" Faith fought the urge to deny him, but being a Christian, she decided to tell the truth. Faith's father was a brilliant chemistry and biology teacher whose students were fond of when he was sober. However, the school eventually dismissed him because of his alcoholism and the scenes associated with it. At that time, Faith and her brother had gone for holidays in Kampala where their mother lived. On retuning to Kako however, they found their father had left the school! They survived in school through networks with teachers and students. It was difficult.

Jose, raised by a single father together with her two siblings hit a deadlock when in P. 5 and/or Grade 5, her father failed to raise school fees for all three children. The two girls had to drop out of school for a year, while their brother continued with school. Jose's father had decided that the girls would dig and grow cabbages, which they would sell in order to find school fees for the following year. They dropped out of school and spent the whole year in the garden while their peers were in school. The plan did not work out as some stray animals ate up the cabbages. Jose explains that she felt the injustice—as her friends were promoted to P. 6 while she had to repeat P.5: "Why did he keep the girls out and the boy in school for a year?" she questioned. After P. 7, Jose was meant to go to Trinity College Nabingo, a catholic single sex school for her A 'level. However, her father was suddenly given a forced transfer to a Muslim secondary school in Masaka district. The transfer not only came suddenly, but also was a demotion in the sense that Jose's father had been transferred as a regular teacher, and yet he had been a deputy head teacher in the leading boys' school in which they had lived all their lives. He resolved to reject the transfer. This is when, in Jose's words, "things went so bad" as the family moved out of school staff housing in the school where they had grown up, to their own incomplete house with neither windows nor floor. Given her father's income as a secondary school teacher had been cut off, Jose did not go to Trinity College Nabingo where she had gotten admission, because her father could not afford the school fees. Her father decided to start a school in their house, and his children were his first students. Jose and her siblings always felt small, when they bumped into their peers who had made it to prominent schools like Smack, Namagunga and Nabingo: "we would almost hide." Their father reassured them that because he had been a teacher in one of these prominent schools, he would give them as much as they would have

received in those schools. Jose's class was the pioneer class to sit the national exam in the new school—six out of the 15 registered candidates got first grades.

Raised by a single father, Jose sometimes missed her mother so much, and in her words, "I would cry and cry." Even though her father was there for them as much as he could, as a girl, she admits she "needed a mother figure", as she explains, "there are things you would want to discuss with your mom which you cannot discuss with your dad." When they went school shopping for example, it was difficult to bring up sanitary towels when she was dealing with her father. She also explains "the first time you get your periods you think you are dying but you cannot rush to your dad." Her father could not relate to certain things that she as a girl found important: "There are some things you want as a girl and he says, "Go away!" She recalls how he did not accept to buy her a dress for her first holy communion. While other children dressed to kill, Jose and her sister had to wear school uniform: "He made us wear school uniform on our first holy communion…I got my first communion in tears! In tears!" Jose also recollected how she yearned to wear trousers and cut the hair in a French cut—fashions considered trendy amongst her teenage peers. Her father opposed this asserting: "You are girls, no trousers!" He also used scissors to mess up Jose's French cut, leaving her no option but to cut it all off, at a time when it really mattered to her to look great so that she could fit in. Her father beat her up for as much as talking to a boy at a time when her classmates had boyfriends. These are issues she struggled with in school, which as she explained, she could have discussed with her mother. Jose's father sometimes requested female teachers and matrons to talk to his daughters, which was futile as Jose and her sister hardly knew these women enough to open up.

For Dina, it is the conflicts between her parents, which resulted in her movement from one school to the next, which troubled her schooling. When Dina was conceived, her father had asked her mother to terminate the pregnancy, reasoning that they had enough children. Dina's mother would not hear of it—aggravating the fights between them. Both her parents worked at the hospital then, where her father was a gynaecologist and her mother a matron in charge of the nurses in the same hospital. When Dina was born however, her father had reconsidered, and wanted to have custody of her. Dina moved between her father and mother's houses, as the two lived separately. Her parents did not agree on which schools to take her. When her father took her to a boarding school, he would change schools as soon as her mother discovered where he had taken her. This happened several times as Dina's father endeavoured to keep her away from her mother. Given that Dina's mother had been a matron in charge of nurses at the hospital, all Dina had to do was introduce herself to the school nurse in whichever school had dad had taken her. The school nurses then told her mother where to find her. At some point, her father included only his name on

Dina's school visiting card. Her mother as such, was not allowed in one visiting day, as her name did not appear on this card. After that incident, her mother always came to visit Dina in the pretext of visiting the school nurse.

Sr. Lucretia, a last born in a family of five children sometimes got contributions from her brothers towards her school fees if her father had not raised all of it in time. Her main struggle during schooling came when she joined the convent where the nuns could only go to school in turns given the scarcity of resources. There was always a waiting period of at least 5 years, which Sr. Lucretia had to wait before she could upgrade to do her master's degree. In addition, the three brothers who had supported her parents financially eventually passed on, leaving the responsibility to Sr. Lucretia and her sister with a family of her own. Yet, as a nun she explains, "the monies that I have are not mine, as 25% of my salary has to go to the convent and the other 75% to running this home, which I share with another nun. What remains for me every month is about 200,000 shillings (about 60 euros), which is too small to support my parents."

On the whole, the women's recollections about their personal concerns and/hiccups as girls in school, provided insights into individual as well as collective experiences. The struggle for school fees was pervasive, albeit stemming from diverse realities such as the loss of jobs by their parents, loss of parents, and polygamous homes that strained the resources. Some of the women however, did not struggle with tuition, which was always readily provided by their parents. However, these women, some of them scientists in male dominated science classes, suffered the discouragement of their male classmates as well as their teachers. Emanating from the women's narratives in regard to their experiences in schooling therefore, are a diversity of issues that girls in school continue to wrestle—pregnancy in school, fitting in, stolen childhood, broken homes, school dropout, emotional turmoil, poverty, orphaned, alcoholism, rape, and gendered discrimination. While some of the narratives told by the women are familiar within research on Uganda (Mirembe & Davies, 2001; Muhanguzi, 2011; Muhanguzi et al., 2011; Muhwezi, 2003), there are also "new comers" to the script of gendered concerns such as the desire to fit in, stolen childhood and emotional turmoil, which were identified and named by the women themselves. Far from the dominant reading of the women as unitary subjects then, evident here is the multiplicity in their realities in schooling. These experiences notwithstanding, the women, as illuminated in Chapter 6 negotiate the gendered order in ways that elude power structures that might have ejected them from schooling, in order to confine them to the home and hearth.

4.3.3. Girls and their Fathers

In this section, I focus on stories women told about their relationships with their fathers. While the stories highlight the unequal power relations in their homes, they also largely espouse fathers for their roles in the women's upbringing and career growth. These stories, as expounded in Chapter 5, are informed by discourses, which construct fathers as breadwinners. The fathers encourage, provide, nurture, protect, comfort and, are role models for the daughters. This troubles monolithic victim narratives which construct non-Western men as necessarily perpetrators of non-Western women's victimhood (Mohanty, 1984; Spivak, 1988).

Bitte nostalgically spoke of the closeness she had shared with her late father: "I was very close to my dad…He was somebody I would go and talk to." She reminisces about a relationship of love and respect, which made it possible for her to tell him about her boyfriend, rather than go through her mother, as was usually the case with such matters. As such, she saved her mother the brunt of her father's disapproval in this regard. Bitte also had the courage to talk to her father when she was not happy with him: "I do not like what you have done and my father would change…he held me dearly because of the way I would freely talk to him." It is in these moments that she defended her mother: "My father would shout sometimes at my mother and I was like 'Why do you do like this?' I would wait when he was alone and I would go and sit with him and we talk about it." The women in her community, like her mother, were "not highly educated and I would look at the women around and I see that they are voiceless. The men and are like here (up) and they are like here (down)…I wanted a home in which everybody was equal so to say…But yes I recognize that my mother looked helpless."

Brandy also questioned this "dad-supremacy", asserting, "I saw how my father, I saw how he was more privileged… his peace was never touched…I did not understand it but that is the rebel in me." Brandy spoke fondly about her father stating, "He learnt very quickly that I was a child whose horizon was much farther than he could ever have imagined." He encouraged her to reach for the sky in pushing the limits of her brilliance. She explained that her grandfather had been the same—letting her father go to the U.K. to study dentistry. Brandy's mother on the other hand, always cautioned her to use her brilliance cautiously—in ways that keep the norms of society. Brandy was always an independent child—"that notorious kid", she explained, "that does their own thing and has their own boundaries." This was met with disapproval as expressed in comments taunting her. Her parents, specifically her father however, paid heed to why she wanted to be different and indulged her. While her siblings are either doctors or lawyers, Brandy is an aviation engineer. She also makes it a point to surround herself with people who believe in her potential and

support her growth. Jerry, her long-time partner has been one of those pillars: “He was always very … you do your thing and shine.” Jerry was raised by a single mother and has many sisters, which Brandy explained, might be the reason as to why he allowed her to reach great heights. She believes in surrounding herself with “people who see that my boundaries are not within the boundaries of everything else.”

When mathematics numbers became slippery for Fida, she always went to her father, a literature teacher, who nevertheless taught and encouraged her. As a student, Fida’s father had struggled financially. He was out of school most of the time for lack of school fees, which had affected his performance in the sciences. Fida thinks her father is “naturally”—as she put it, a scientist, but what was most important was the ways in which he was a pillar of encouragement for her. Although Fida’s mother was a nurse by profession, she gave up her practice when her children were born I order to take care of them. The academic person as Fida states was her father who worked out numbers with her but also persistently reminded her: “That you can make it!” Looking back, she explained with a sigh, that all her siblings are educated because of her father’s efforts. Most of her father’s siblings however, were not educated and criticized him for investing his resources in educating girls: “why don’t you help us educate our boys?” Fida’s father had rejected this asserting, “All children are the same. These are also my children.” Although Fida’s father was raised by both parents, with the father paying his fees on meagre resources, it was his mother who was the greatest source of his inspiration, which as she explained might be the reason that he valued education for women at a time when most people did not invest in educating girls.

Cherry found inspiration in her father, a mathematician who had done his degree in math in a Canadian university, and a mother who is a retired banker. She recollects her father’s intervention in improving her grades in her lower primary when she had deteriorated due to playfulness. There were days when Cherry and her father studied until 1:00 a.m.! It was then that she caught up with her schoolwork, understanding math concepts. It was such a turning point, she states, so much so that she made it to Namagunga, a top girls’ school. Even in Namagunga, when concepts got difficult, she took note of them and waited for the holiday so that her father could explain them. Her father did not believe in coaching, which meant that he taught all her seven siblings too. Indeed all Cherry’s siblings have taken on math-oriented careers—architects, engineers, and statisticians. Cherry makes mention of the main hiccup she can remember in school was when her father went abroad for further studies: “I missed dad when he went abroad, because then I did not have anyone to talk to about my mathematics.” By the time her father returned, she was about to sit her S.4 examinations, which she passed highly because of the foundation her father

had provided. Additionally, her parents provided many books: "You see, this home has a library with all the books you think you would need to read."

While Carol attributed her excellence in the sciences to her own interest therein, she also applauded her father: "my dad always believed in me and I did not want to let him down." During moments leading to her examinations, her father took her off the house chore timetable, encouraging her to invest more time in her schoolwork. She also explains that her father is a banker, which might be responsible for her love for math. Carol's parents separated, and her mother, a businessperson, left the home where her father raised Carol and her siblings.

Professor Musta, the first woman dean, full professor, and PhD in linguistics scholar at a leading Ugandan university, attributed her excellence to her father, who as she asserted, "brought us up to believe that it is not a disaster to be a woman." Professor Musta, quoting her father's words of encouragement, affirmed that he had addressed them asserting: "You are as good as anybody else...You can achieve all you want to achieve provided you aim high…So never think about yourself just as a woman…there is nothing a man can do which you cannot." As such, Professor Musta was well aware of her capacity to achieve, "So for me I knew no man can beat me. I am unbeatable. I am unbwogabble!"

Jose and her siblings, raised by a single father, were three, two and ten months when their mother left. Their father, committed to taking care of them, did not get married. When they got to university, their father intimated to them why he had waited so long to remarry:

> You know why I did not get married? It's not like I did not want to get married after your mom left...Usually when women come into a setting like this they tend to disorganize the whole system…you will find the children suffering…I did not want you to suffer and I brought you up like that by choice.

Jose's father admitted to his children that as a deputy head teacher at a prominent boys' school at that time, women always propositioned him, and questioned his normalcy given that he had remained single for too long after the separation with his wife. Friends and relatives also taunted him, affirming, "Those kids are young, they need a woman." He always responded, "No they don't need a mom, I am here." Jose does not know what caused her parents' separation, but they only got to see their mother once a year, when she brought them gifts during Christmas time, and stayed with them for at least a week, which they always looked forwarded to. Jose's mother was Rwandese, and worked between Rwanda and Kenya where she did business. She passed away when Jose was 10 years old. Jose does not know what caused her mother's death, which was communicated to them 6 months after her burial, by one of Jose's maternal uncles who told them she had died in

Tanzania. After the separation, her father seemed to have cut off all communication with their mother's relatives, which might explain why there was no timely communication about the mother's death. Jose's father eventually remarried after all his children had completed school. Jose is so proud of her father for having stuck it through in his commitment to them: "God blessed him with a wife and they are happy."

Jose's father was there for her during a rough patch in her relationship with her fiancé (currently her husband), who was having an affair with Anita, one of his university students. Anita's father was an army man at Entebbe air force. Jose recollects how on her way from teaching, a car had pulled over and army men had come out and tried to grab her. As she took to her heels, one of the men warned Jose: "your husband is seeing somebody and that person's man is coming after you!" As Jose explained, "they wanted to target the soft spot. Harass the wife and children to scare off the man." She was so shaken that she needed counselling, which one of her colleagues at the university did. Although she tried to talk to her husband, she did not get anywhere because as she explained, "when men cheat they become abusive and you cannot talk to them." When Jose told her father about the attempted kidnap, she saw him, in her words, "go ballistic!" He was also disappointed that Jose had not involved him earlier, stating: "My daughter how could you do that to me...how could you keep quiet with something like this?" Acknowledging that Jose had lost so much weight, and that her life was at risk, her father asked her to return to his home with her children. He also told her to forget she ever loved her fiancé, to which Jose responded stating that she could not, because she had had children with the man. Her father reminded her that because she had a job, she could afford to take care of the children herself.

It took over 6 months of negotiation between Jose's father, her fiancé and Anita's father before Jose could return to her fiancé's home. In the meantime, her fiancé continued to see Anita who pampered him with lots of money. They spent time together in Entebbe, which was embarrassing, as Jose had been born and raised there, and as such, many people who knew her family told Jose about her fiancé and his mistress. Jose recalls how her fiancé had seldom brought home extravagant shopping, boxes of expensive chocolate and other goodies yet Jose knew he was broke at the time. She had confronted him at one time, telling him to take the shopping back where it had come from: "Don't give anything to my children! You take it back!" Jose had put all the shopping in the trash, convinced he had the money from Anita. He had sometimes returned home with different colognes, which Jose believed Anita had gifted him. Anita also decorated their family car, filling it with scents. She had also sent messages late in the night, and her fiancé always called her back. Jose recalls that

her husband had so much money during the time he dated Anita: “I saw money flying around!” She remembers a time when she found a hotel bill worth 500,000/= which he brushed aside as a friend’s. He had also been away and unavailable from time to time, explaining that he had attended at workshops in very posh hotels in Entebbe. Jose was so wounded as she put it, “up to now I have nightmares of people chasing me for things I don’t know.” She recognises the kidnappers could have grabbed, tortured and raped her just to get back at her fiancé—“Hurt the wife, disorganize the family just to get to him.” Because Anita also continued to hang on to Jose’s fiancé, it escalated into a security issue, as Jose continued to get anonymous calls threatening to kill her: “We will kill you if your man does not leave our daughter! We are going to kill you!”

During the separation, Jose’s children, unaware of what was happening, continuously demanded to return to their home to see their father. Jose’s father affirmed that she and the children stay at his house until the situation was sorted out. He reminded her that since they had not had a church marriage, she could find someone else if this did not work out. Jose could not heed this, as, in her mind, this is the only man she had ever known intimately. Even if Jose and her fiancé had invested in building a house together, her father encouraged her to leave him anyway, since the relationship risked her life. Jose and her fiancé had lived together for 9 years at that time, having formalized their relationship in a traditional engagement ceremony, which was supposed to be followed by a wedding, for which she had waited in vain at the time.

The threats to her life meant that Jose had to change her lifestyle, never moving in the night, in fear that these men could return and harm her. These men nevertheless, went as far as tracking Jose’s phone. One of them once called Jose and told her he knew she was at Makerere. The men also knew the children’s school, as well as her full-time and part-time job locations. As events unfolded later, Jose realized that these men had threatened her fiancé as well, telling him that if did not leave Anita alone, they would kill him and leave no trace. Jose learnt later, about an incident in which her fiancé had been grabbed from a restaurant and taken to the air force offices in Entebbe, where he was threatened. He had hang on to the relationship with Anita nonetheless. As Jose explains, she could not figure out whether it was the money, or the sex that made her fiancé hang on despite threats to their lives. He spent so much time with her in a mansion she rented with guards to protect her, in a posh residential area in Entebbe. Jose expressed disappointment in her fiancé for having invaded another man’s bed, given that another man was obviously paying for this property, since Anita was only a student without a job.

The separation affected Jose’s schedule, as she had to trek all the way from Entebbe where her father lived, to Kampala where she worked. She also changed the

children to a school in Entebbe because the commute was difficult to work with. Despite this strain, her father insisted that unless Jose guaranteed hers and the children's security, he would not let them leave his home. He told Jose's fiancé, "Unless you can guarantee the security of the children and the family, we are leaving you. You can go ahead and have the other girl as your wife." This situation strained the otherwise good relationship that Jose's fiancé had had with her father. In rebuking him, after Jose had returned to live with her fiancé, Jose's father asked him not to marry Jose out of pity, and, recognizing that Jose really wanted a wedding, he appealed to her to reject a marriage proposal from her fiancé until the situation was completely resolved. Although they eventually had a church wedding, Jose did not enjoy it: "I did not even enjoy my wedding much because I was worried Anita would show up and cause a scene."

Jose recognizes how much she hurt her father by keeping this silent for a long time. She recollects how he had addressed her, reassuring her that she could count on him: "I am your father, I can handle anything. Never keep quiet with something like that again!" It was in these dark moments that the lack of a mother had hit Jose very hard. As much as she loves her father, she recognizes that if her mother had been around, she would have gone straight to her and cried her heart out right from the start. This, she admitted, was one of the lowest points in her life. Jose continues to struggle to fully forgive and forget this nightmare. She doubts that she could ever build the trust again: "We managed to pull through, but it left me scarred." She plans to make her marriage work although as she acknowledges, those issues continue to eat at her.

As a child, I always fantasized about the day my father would pick me up in his Benz and take me to live in his huge and luxurious house. I had lived with my dotting mother, who loved my brother and I. She worked at the Bank of Uganda. She was not rich—and neither was she poor. I received everything that I needed. However, most importantly, I was loved. The day finally came. I can faintly remember my dad driving into our walkway with another man in the Benz—taking me to live this "fantasy". My father, a rich powerful man in Jinja, had had me as a young man before he became so rich and powerful. I overheard talk that he had however denied having had a child with my mother. My mother had taken it in her stride, looking after me with dotting help of her older brother and my grandparents who always sent a jerry can of milk to "ka" Lydia, as they called me, because I was very tiny. Off to the "sun" my dad and I drove away in the Benz, leaving my mother whom I did not see for a while—as far as my fleeting memory can recollect. As a mother now, I cannot begin to imagine the pain with which my mother gave me up to go and live with this powerful man. At my father's mansion, I sometimes sat on the veranda when I was

sad, looking at every woman who walked by the road, wondering if she might be my mother. I could swear—even as I look back, that sometimes she had passed by and waved back and with her smiley eyes. My mother eventually "stole" by school from time to time to visit me—although even at that time, I could feel somehow, that she was not permitted to come see me. I did not tell my father about her visits.

I lived with my father and my brother Tim, who joined by father, leaving his mother in Kenya as I had left mine in Jinja. A year after that, my father married, and, my brother and I were taken to boarding school where we suffered terribly. My mother eventually figured out (I do not know how), which boarding school my father had "hidden" me. She was the first to visit each visiting day, bearing so many tidings, but leaving each time before my father came. My mother promised that after I got to the university, we would see each other more often, unencumbered. This never happened as my mother passed on two years before I could get to the university. I suffered the pinch of growing up without my mother, and I pray God graces me with a productive and healthy life to see my own children grow, and to behold of my grandchildren.

My father comforted me as best as he could when I lost my dear mother, paying my school fees and providing my requirements. I will never forget how he turned up looking for me at the university, with boiled maize in his briefcase for me, as he did not have a job at the time to provide the pocket money I needed. On my wedding day, he rejected the bride price, appealing to my husband Andrew to take good care of me instead. He also asked him to support my academic career, which he knew I was invested in. When I first got my PhD detour—a painful time in my life, which I narrate later, my dad and Andrew breathed hope and strength back into my life. My father remains the most optimistic and strongest person I have ever met in my life. I am reminded of tough times when I have dashed to his side, only to get there for him to comfort me instead! I cherish the moments in which we sit and talk openly about life. I give glory to God for the great father I have been blessed with. He remains a strong pillar for my siblings and I.

Overall, the father's role, which within the female teacher educators' narratives was valorised, is informed by discourses, which position fathers as icons in the home as further explained in section 5.6. While the women do not exonerate their fathers for partaking in the patriarchal dividend (Connell, 2008) and/or power and privileges men enjoy (and abuse) by virtue of maleness, they nonetheless produce their fathers as invaluable in shaping children and the home. The construction of fathers within the women's narratives to a large extent echoes Marshall's account in which the father is positioned as "responsible for the most positive aspects of childcare and the mother for the maintenance work" (1991 as cited in Sunderland, 2004, p. 103). This

notwithstanding, the stories largely unsettle discourses which cast Black/Brown men as perpetrators of non-Western women's victimhood.

4.3.4. Men as Allies in Male Dominated Spaces

This section shows the stories women told about different men who supported their progress through home, school and workspaces. Disturbing the construction of men from the global South as necessarily perpetrators, and women from the global South as their victims, the stories reveal how the men allied with women.

Jenny vividly recalls how one of the boys in her class had ensured that she took on physics, which she had not opted for fearing that she would fail it. It is interesting that this boy, who had been her competitor for the 1st place in class, had become very close to her. He used to be the first in the class and Jenny would always take second position. The first position was seductive because it meant a full waiver of tuition fees, while the second position meant a waiver of half of the fees. While this boy took the first position until they finished school, one of the teachers had whispered to Jenny that during one term, she had outperformed him, but that boy had been favoured over Jenny so that his school fees could be waived. This boy made it to the university and is now a medical doctor. Jenny describes the boys' generosity, "You know boys do not have this jealousy thing—the way women are." When he realized Jenny had not opted for physics, he had approached her and talked her into the importance as well as the potential consequences of opting out of physics. When she told him that she had left physics out because it was difficult for her, he responded, "you can actually do physics…I will teach you what we have studied so far." This encouraged her, and joining the physics class, she got a lot of help from him. She commends mixed schools for providing a space in which boys and girls can interact, given that she has had better relationships with boys than girls. She was in discussion groups with boys and explained that she "did not have any problems socializing with boys since I had been to mixed schools all through. In fact my husband was my classmate…I have seen girls from single sex schools struggling with how to interact with boys—in fact I will not take my children to single sex schools."

Jenny was ushered into academia by Dr. Kirumiira who gave her a research position and supervised her PhD. She recounts how this man, who had been like a parent to her died of cancer. He had had a heart problem and had gone to India repeatedly for medical treatment. Towards her viva, Dr. Kirumira developed a small swelling behind his neck. Within no time, he could hardly move it, eventually getting paralyzed neck down. He went to India for an operation and eventually resumed teaching on his return to Uganda. He attended Jenny's viva, as well as the dinner to celebrate her success. However, shortly after these events, Dr. Kirumira's health

started deteriorating. He returned to an India hospital where he passed away. It was sad. She describes Dr. Kirumira as "a parent—a parent to everyone…He did not discriminate between people like some proud professors do. When you did not come to school, he would look for you and say, 'Jenny, I have not seen you in a while'—he was a counsellor. " Dr. Kirumira was the one who had provided opportunities for Jenny to teach at the university, giving up some of his lectures for Jenny to teach. When the university formally advertised in 2010, she was recommended by her department and taken on as a full time teaching assistant, from whence she has advanced to the position of lecturer.

Cherry applauds her late supervisor, Professor Opolot for mentoring her. She explains that he "did a lot in me and I would like to carry his legacy forward. I would like to be an academician. He was my mentor." She recollects how stranded she felt when she had to coordinate a math project which focused on sub-Saharan Africa. Overwhelmed because she had not handled a project of this magnitude before, Cherry had approached professor Opolot, who worked closely with her toward the completion of the project, which was highly appreciated by the World Bank. Professor Opolot fell sick shortly after they finished work on the project. While students were not allowed into his residence at that time, Cherry, who was referred to as his daughter, was eventually allowed to see him, because she also had to give him his payment from the World Bank project. When she eventually talked to him, he was concerned about the progress of her thesis, given that he as supervisor was bed-ridden. He recommended some professors to take over, and one of them managed to take Cherry through up to the submission of her thesis.

After Biru's diploma in education, the men in her life pushed her to continue upgrading until she completed her PhD. Her husband, also a teacher trainer pushed her to enrol for the evening program through which she did her bachelor degree. He also supported her financially, paying her tuition for the first year of the program. Had it not been for his encouragement, Biru might have wound up with only the first diploma like many of her former classmates had. Biru's father was another influence in as far as her academic progress was concerned. Although as she explains, he did not necessarily come to school to check on her performance, he ensured that school fees was paid by the first day of school. She recollects a moment when her father bailed her out when she was stranded during her first degree:

> My husband was supposed to pay and he got off track…I was about to do exams but I did not have tuition…my friends suggested I go to my parents. I was so afraid coz while I got my first diploma after they paid school fees, I had also gotten pregnant and had not returned to them to officially talk. I called my dad on a Friday evening that I had exams on Monday and had not paid fees. He

had just started working again…The following day, which was a Saturday, he came to the university and wrote me a check …I did my exams.

After that encounter, Biru always saved up to ensure that she never was stranded again about paying university tuition. She explained how very proud her parents are that she has a PhD. When she was having problems with her husband during the PhD program, she remembers getting so exasperated that she called her father to talk about it. More invested in the PhD than the crumbling marriage, her father had responded asserting, "don't tell me about that, just do the PhD, ignore everything else so you return with the PhD and then the rest will fall in line."

While Sr. Lucretia affirms that she is happy to be a nun, she narrates her crisis in 2007. At the time, she had been prompted to withdraw from her masters, as there were inadequate financial resources to sponsor her. It was during that time that she decided to apply for a job at the university. However, her congregation wanted her to go and head a school in Karamoja. Sr. Lucretia told the Mother Superior that because she had spent so much time and money on the master's program, it would be such a waste for her to withdraw. The Mother Superior had responded tersely, threatening Sr. Lucretia that she would dismiss her from the convent if she did not comply by withdrawing from the program to go and head the secondary school. This tension went on for 9 months, and it is within that period that she considered leaving the convent to return home. During each of their meetings, Sr. Lucretia had used a recorder in her pocket to capture their confrontations: "In fact there is a recording in which she asked me to write a letter to her asking for my dismissal. However, I told her I had taken my final vows and would remain here permanently. But if she wanted, I could write a letter for her to dismiss herself!" Sr. Lucretia eventually reported the Mother Superior to the archbishop who listened to the tape recordings, and counselled her. When a new superior was eventually elected, the story ended. The new Mother Superior allowed Sr. Lucretia to choose whether she wanted to head the school or take up her job, and continue with her master degree. She chose the former, which is how she joined the university as a lecturer.

The boys in Carol's science program at the university were friendly, and helped a great deal in understanding concepts and lab work, which she, many a time had not understood in the classroom. Dispelling the idea that boys were smarter than girls in terms of math and physics, Carol explained, "they were more of fighters…more hard working…they seemed to have grasped the stuff more than us…we just had to stick to them and work together and discuss stuff." The admiration and respect for girls in the science class was expressed through comments like, "You girls are so smart…you have already made it!" Such comments were encouraging for Carol, although they did not take away the moments of doubt as to whether she would make it. While Carol

had heard that boys in schools like, Buddo, a mixed school, put the girls down, in her school, "boys respected the girls who were good." After university, Carol was first recruited to teach at Gayaza High, an affluent single sex school where she found male teachers very helpful. There were only three females in the department of physics. She found teaching very challenging, and had to read very hard in order to keep up with the brilliant students. She consulted her colleagues who worked cooperatively with her, even sharing their class notes. The male teachers, who outnumbered the females, never made them feel isolated. In fact, they were happy to have them in the department, as they imagined it would inspire and/or motivate girls to work hard.

In her previous job as a maintenance supervisor, Liz oversaw a technical team, supervising their work and overseeing the equipment maintenance. She started as a trainee in the organization. After graduating as an engineer, she got a job there, eventually climbing to the ranks of supervisor. Liz's higher rank and qualifications might explain why the men she supervised easily accepted her, "because they were all technicians and I was an engineer." The technical men received her well, partly because the organization remuneration system depended on length of service and level of experience in the organization. This meant that even though Liz was a supervisor, some of her supervisees earned more than she did. As such, as she explained, "it was not an issue of you are the boss, you have the money. It was more as…someone needed to coordinate the entire system, so they took it –I do not think they had a problem with it. If they did, then it is not something I observed from their behaviour or verbally." She admitted though that because it was a male realm, she witnessed the transfer of a woman lower in rank than herself, from the technical field into more clerical/administrative work within the organization. While this woman had come as a technical trainee, the demands on the technical team to frequently travel up country—driving long distances and lifting heavy machinery, made it difficult for her to cope. This female technical trainee then ended up joining the only two other in the organization, who included the secretary and the data entry clerk to do administrative work.

As a mother and wife, some of the women like Bitte, Jenny, and I, relied on husbands to attend to the children while we pursued our career development. Jenny's husband took care of the children each time she left the country for France, for at least 4 months each year as part of her doctoral program. She compares her husband, a great father to some husbands in Uganda, who call their wives from the kitchen to come and take care of the baby too as they do nothing but watch TV. On school days, Jenny's husband washes the children and gets them dressed, while Jenny prepares breakfast. He is as Jenny explains, "a caring person." When Jenny and her husband got married, she was doing her Master's degree. During his speech, Jenny's father had

addressed her husband: "you have met Jenny, she is doing her master's—please be supportive." Indeed, as Jenny explained, her husband always restated this, affirming that he would keep the promise he had made to Jenny's father to ensure that she progressed academically. She recognizes that her father's request notwithstanding, there are men who would not have accepted to be "pushed around" by a father-in-law. She applauds her husband for accepting to do this, well aware that he could have rejected the request. This is a reminder of my own story—at our wedding in 2004, I was doing my first master's degree at Makerere University in Uganda. In his speech, my father appealed to my husband, Andrew, to ensure that I got my PhD. To this day, my husband has ridden on that request—bending over and backwards through the years, to ensure that he delivers on his promise. I have heard him, with pride affirming: "In fact, I will deliver 2 PhDs!" He has been a wind beneath my wing over the years, in so many ways.

On the whole, the men as illuminated in the women's narratives, provided the women's needs such as husbands providing tuition, science boys helping the girls with classwork, supervisors providing mentorship, and job opportunities. While this unsettles the pervasive narrative which produces non-Western men as inherently perpetrators of non-Western women's victimhood (Spivak, 1988), it also illuminates the skewed power relations, in which men behold most institutional power, beholding authority in both private and public spaces (Evans, 2013). The privileged positions bestowed on men by virtue of their maleness— the "patriarchal dividend" as Connell (2008) calls it, casts them in positions of powerfulness to espouse (and abuse) women. Indeed Evans decries the "degree to which women are subject to male authority in both the private and the personal world—a universal assumption that locates authority (both public and private) in the biological male)" (2013, p. 49). Chapter 6 expounds the ways in which women negotiated gender regimes in which men dominate in order to refashion their lives.

4.3.5. Not a Woman!

This section focuses on the experiences of one woman, Professor Musta, whose upward mobility as a pioneer in male dominated academia at a leading university is illuminated through her experiences. It shows her struggles against gender arrangements, calling the monolithic female victimhood narrative into question.

When Professor Musta applied for the job of academic registrar, the men, in her words, "brought out all their guns to beat me down!" She had been the only applicant for the position. However, Hyuha, a man who at the time, had just returned from Dar-es-salaam was according to Professor Musta, "picked from town and planted here because he was a man…Because they had already made up their

minds…Not a woman!" As a member of the university council, Professor Musta and two other women earned themselves the title "the three gender musketeers". This as she explains is because, "we were always fighting—reminding them that they forgotten women!…The members within the council learnt to expect a complaint, our protest, our letter, or even us going to his office saying, reminding them not to side-line women"

Eventually through lobbying over time, a woman was appointed to the position of academic registrar. This happened after a clause was included within the constitution of the university decreeing that there should be at least one female among the three top positions. Professor Musta explained however, that the female academic registrar did not do anything to defend the clause which was eventually scrapped: "She never even raised a finger... she thinks you just sit there looking like a lady, just smiling." She was given preference to Professor Musta for the job, because "they did not want the three musketeers…they said you bring any of those talkers, we will never breathe, they will never let us work…We don't want Matembes, we don't want the Musta's."

When Professor Musta was doing her doctorate at the University of York, her Ugandan colleague, who was in his second year at the time when Professor Musta joined the program, rushed back to Uganda to take on a leadership role at the university, since Amin was in the process of expelling all Europeans and Indians. He was recruited as acting head of department, since he not yet had his PhD. He then was too bogged down with administration to finish his PhD at that time. When Professor Musta, who had by now finished her PhD applied for a position in his department, this man tried to block her recruitment, telling his colleagues that Professor Musta was too overqualified for the position. Professor Musta explained that given her upbringing, she had the audacity to fight men who tried to beat her down: "I wrote my letters, complained, sat in front of appointment boards, challenged whatever the men were saying, and I always got what I wanted." Such schemes always delayed her promotions nonetheless.

Professor Musta's woes in career progression had started way earlier. She explains that she had met an obstacle at every stage of her career. In the promotion to the position of senior lecturer, her head of department had preferred to give the position to a male colleague, who had not even published any articles. The head of department reasoned that because the male lecturer had served longer than Musta at the university, he deserved the position. Professor Musta had also served as lecturer in universities abroad for the required length of time, and, unlike the male lecturer, she had also published some papers. The head of department then refused to recommend or forward Professor Musta's application to the appointments board of the university.

Professor Musta took her own application straight to the appointments board and explained to the university secretary asserting:

> I know I have brought in my application irregularly but …it is my right to be considered because I have the qualifications and publications and the one the department is recommending has never published. They have their reasons for blocking me. However, I am qualified and I want to be considered for the promotion.

The university secretary accepted Professor Musta's application, also informing her that he would accept the department's application, and give both Professor Musta and the department a chance to defend their applications before the appointments board. During that meeting, she was put to task to explain why she thought she was the best candidate for the position:

> Professor Musta: I have the required publications. I have the experience, although it is not through from Makerere. I have been teaching in other universities so I count those years.
>
> University Secretary: But you are focused on just writing and academics, you do not want to take on any duties.
>
> Professor Musta: I am glad my head of department is here. I would like him to tell me in front of you, which departmental duties he gave me and I did not do…He has never offered me any duty that I refused to take up.

The head of department always appointed specific members of staff to take on tasks at the university, ignoring Professor Musta. The whole board looked at him, but he did not respond. The university secretary presented the second accusation:

> University Secretary: There is another accusation. I understand there is a course, which you taught very badly because almost the entire class failed so, there must be something wrong with your teaching.
>
> Professor Musta: It is true that many students failed but the course was brand new. It had never been taught in this department. Secondly there were no books in fact the notes I came with from Zambia are the ones I lent students to read. Then I wonder who did the research and proved beyond reasonable doubt that it was my teaching rather than another factor that contributed to that failure rate?

The third accusation was that Professor Musta had moved from three different universities in such a short time in her career, suggesting instability. Professor Musta defended herself describing it not as a sign of instability but of versatility. She would not have managed to receive appointments from those three universities, she argued, if she had had a bad reputation. The appointments board was convinced by her

argument, and approved her promotion to the position of senior lecturer. They also advised the head of department to work with Professor Musta, telling him, "better give this… use this lady she is brilliant, young, and can work." The head of department took the delegation of responsibilities after that meeting, too far, delegating even the writing of all letters to Musta, only signing them without even reading through. She decided to teach him a lesson. The last letter he delegated for her to write was written, and signed by Professor Musta, who also sent it to the recipients without the head of department's knowledge. The head of department then started avoiding her. This head-on with the head of department put an end to the negative reports he had previously written against her since he was now aware that she was capable of defending herself, and even putting him to shame.

Professor Musta also recollects how the head of department had blocked her application for a sabbatical at the University of Zambia, which she had wanted to take after her mother's death. The head reasoned that the application should be denied because Professor Musta had not worked long enough at Makerere University. Professor Musta then wrote to the Vice Chancellor defending herself, but most importantly quoting her terms of service, which stated that nobody should be barred from going for academic pursuits provided they had fulfilled certain conditions. The sabbatical was approved. The clashes with the head of department did not stop there. When he wanted to be appointed associate professor, his application was rejected for lack of sufficient qualifications, and yet, Professor Musta's application was approved, aggravating their conflict.

Then came the application to full professorship, where Professor Musta had yet another opponent in the boxing ring. She had applied for the promotion before leaving for her sabbatical in the U.S. By the time she returned, the Minister of Education had not signed to approve her application. She persistently requested for an appointment with the minister until she was granted one. Professor Musta explained to the minister that her application had been sent by Makerere before she went for sabbatical, where she had been for 9 months: "I am back and they tell me my papers are not back from your office. So I am here to find out why you have refused to sign my papers." The minister denied having received the application. Two days after their meeting however, the appointments board received her letter with the minister's signature approving her appointment to full professorship.

When she gave this testimony about her woes to full professorship at one of the celebrations to honour female professors, the Vice chancellor at the time jokily asserted, "except for Professor Musta, the rest have not had such problems." To this statement, Professor Musta had responded asserting, "But I was the pioneer. And after I became professor there was no other female professor for ten years!" Professor

Musta was the first female dean, professor, Doctor of Linguistics at a leading university in Uganda.

On the whole, Professor Musta's progression illuminates obstacles to women's upward mobility, also providing insights into the glass ceiling phenomenon, which explains the difficulty for women rather than men to be promoted higher up levels of authority hierarchies within workplaces (Baxter, 2000). Illuminated therein are her struggles against gendered arrangements, dispelling the unitary victim narrative. Yet such struggles are not unique to women in non-Western countries, and, continue to be encountered by women even in the West whose remuneration for similar jobs remains lower than that of their male counterparts (Jensen, 2014). Indeed women remain disproportionately represented within leadership in most countries in the world (Bush & Glover, 2016; Coffey & Delamont, 2000), including Uganda (Sperandio & Kagoda, 2010). Professor's Musta narrative confirms Das' (2009) conclusion "that females who are "too assertive" threaten the gender hierarchy" (as cited McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012, p. 627), which is why power works in double measures, to reinstate traditional hierarchical gender relations.

4.3.6. Wife-in-the-making and Okukyalira Ensiko and/or "Visiting the Bush"

This section focuses on stories regarding the women's preparation to get married. It highlights narratives around learning gendered "wifely" roles, behaviour as well as sexual preparation, which for the women in my study dominantly involved labia elongation and/or visiting the bush. It shows women's multiple realities in navigating the norms.

While my father and mother both emphasized academic excellence for both boys and girls in our home, the responsibility of ensuring that the food was cooked and the house cleaned, and my siblings attended to, always fell squarely on my shoulders. This, coupled with stories about the consequences of laziness for young girls when they eventually became wives, was drummed into my head. I vividly remember the story of "Njabala" usually told to young girls to scare them into learning domestic chores. In this story, Njabala, a young wife who had not learnt her chores struggled when she got married. When her husband left for work, Njabala, paralysed by the domestic chores desperately cried to her late mother, whose ghost then appeared and demonstrated how she should take care of her family. Like my brothers, Tino's brothers played as long as they wanted to, because unlike girls, nothing would change when they got married: "Yes, as girls, hygiene and cooking were emphasized—the boys would play as much as they liked because nothing would change when they grew up and got married, but we the girls had to do more domestic

chores." Nonetheless, because Tino's was a big family of 13 children, every one of them was expected to chip in. There was a rota: "But if a boy did not want to cook, then it was an opportunity to make money—I cook for you, you give me my 100shs."

In primary school, Jose was in St. Theresa, a catholic single sex school. The value of self-respect as a woman was emphasized, showing the girls how they were expected to behave, walk, speak and dress up. Jose struggled with these expectations because she was a tomboy as she put it. She recalls at one time when a nun asked her, "Joseline, why do you behave like a man?" The nun always reprimanded her affirming, "behaving like a man is a bad thing." One afternoon, Jose, catching sight of dangling ripe mangoes, had just climbed the tree to partake of them when the nun appeared. Flustered, the nun expressed such disappointment: "How could you? ...A girl climbing trees? Come down…Your dad must know about this. This is the highest order of indiscipline!" Surprised because she did not realize what was wrong with climbing the tree to get mangoes, she got down from the tree. This earned her a beating from her father. She decries the expectations on her as a young girl: "you are supposed to kneel, you are supposed to be humble, and you are not supposed to look people straight in the eye…" She remembers how much she was reprimanded for looking straight into people's eyes, which was considered rude. As a cheeky child, Jose was also not afraid of anybody. As such, she was constantly reminded to tone down her character.

Sr. Lucretia and her older sister Tabitha were the last and second last children respectively in a family of five. As such, their brothers did most of the housework in the home. They both frequently got into fights with their brothers, making them quite aggressive. In fact as Sr. Lucretia explains, when Tabitha eventually got married, "she used to beat up her husband when she was annoyed with him (laughs)." Both girls did very little work, cooking only the easy meals, washing the dishes and fetching water from the well. However, their mother always cautioned them about the importance of learning how to do household chores, so that when they got to their future homes, they would make good wives. Sr. Lucretia explains that, "We had to learn the kinds of wood that would cook well and also remain hot. We also had to learn how to grind millet." Further, because in her culture a good dancer was indicative of a good wife, Sr. Lucretia was supposed to learn the courtship dance, "—the rakaraka—if you did not know how to dance, then it showed you were not going to be a good wife—so learning to dance was emphasized." Sr. Lucretia however did not learn to dance because she did not stay home long enough to do so. She decided to invest her strength into ululating instead as, in her words, "You had to be a good dancer, but also be good at ululation." She explains however, that her family was so unconventional in the ways in which gender played out: "Even when it came to inheriting land, it was

only in my family that girls owned land. In most families the girls do not inherit land because they are going to get married." She points out the irony in dis-inheriting girls in their own homes, affirming, "the interesting thing is even when they get married, they still don't get land there because they don't belong. So where do they belong?"

I recall sitting next to a girl who had a hole in her dress through which she would "pull" during class time. While there was a silencing of sexuality during my upbringing within the Ugandan society, one enduring narrative in the three years that I attended a primary boarding single sex catholic school, was "okukyalira ensiko" or "visiting the bush." Girls pulled their labia minora in preparation for marriage through this mandatory practice. Groups of girls in my school, frequently picked *olutengo-tengo*—herbs believed to catalyse labia elongation, and run down one of the valleys at the far end of the school compound to pull each other. Matrons also helped the girls in the practice. There was talk about the intense initial pain, which would dwindle, as the labia minora became the length of the index finger. It was said that this initial pain, however, was incomparable to what one would feel if they started pulling after puberty. While I was too afraid to join the girls during these escapades, I remained afraid as I was warned that when an un-pulled girl got married, her aunt would have to sprinkle millet into her private part and then have a chicken eat out of there simultaneously pulling her labia minora in *public*! I thought of this spectacle—the public disciplining and shaming with utmost fear.

In Gayaza primary, where Brenda attended school, the matron told them about pulling "scaring the hell out of us" as Brenda explained. In fear, she imagined her legs stretched apart for the chicken to eat millet out of: "I was so scared! I was not the only one who was scared—we were scared!" The school had dormitories for girls according to their ages. There was however, one dormitory—Cox, in which all the students in the school had to sleep at some point during their stay in the school. The matron in Cox called one student at a time and checked to ensure "you had to pull those things—she would call one by one. As long as you went through Gayaza at that time, you had to do those things." Brenda was in Cox for 2 years. The matron also called on the girls in order to inspect how much their labia minora had lengthened. Sometimes she assigned the older girls to inspect the younger ones: "abo mubakebele, n'oyo mumukebele", translated "check these ones, and that one too." This inspection took place in the inner dormitory bathrooms, which did not have light. The "inspectors" used torches and in disapproval sometimes affirmed: "kati jyangu nno tulabe—ebyo byo sika bikyamu—gwe nno oli mu muzanyo"—to mean essentially that the girl in question had pulled the wrong place! They would then get the ntengo tengo plant to demonstrate to the younger girls on how to pull properly. The pain as Brenda gasped "—and the pain...banange!" Brenda eventually got used to braving this

pain eventually "graduating" in terms of the length of her labia minora, to then qualify for relocation to another dormitory. At home during the holiday, Brenda's grandmother had first "beaten about the bush" asking her about school, before finding the courage to pose the question: "You know there are some things you have to do as a woman…did you do the things?" When Brenda replied that she had done this in school, her grandmother signed in relief. The opportunity for Brenda's mother to check her in this regard came when Brenda fell very ill. Her mother, who suspected that Brenda had had an abortion given that she was very anaemic, had to wash her since she was very weak. It was when she was washing Brenda that checked to see, and, as Brenda affirmed: "Mum was so relieved I could feel it!"

Cherry went to boarding school for only one term in P. 1. She vividly recollects the matron as she explains, "coming to our beds and doing that stuff to us without even asking. I remember she did it to me. And it hurt." When she left the school for an affluent one, pulling was never discussed. It came up though during her secondary school among her peers at Namagunga, who rubbished it. She explains that she is sure her own mother a staunch Christian, who had grown up in the convent, and who disregarded most cultural norms, would have rubbished it. As a teacher, Cherry has had opportunities to talk to girls, advising them to refrain from just pulling due to peer pressure without ascertaining if their particular culture requires it. Cherry also warned them about the dangers of contracting sexually transmitted diseases in the process of pulling. Most importantly, she also warned them "pulling is not what makes a good marriage. It also depends on the culture you marry into, and in fact some cultures do not even like them, and might tell you to remove them surgically."

Instigated by a circular that Biru's parents had received about pulling, Biru's aunt took her to the bathroom when she returned home for the holiday from her boarding school. In the bathroom, her aunt pulled her explaining that all girls were supposed to do it. Biru screamed because of the excruciating pain, getting the attention of other family members in the house, who gathered around the bathroom. She talked sternly to her aunt assuring her that she would not do it, and would even report her to her father. When Biru returned to school at the end of the holiday, the girls were whispering about pulling because as Biru asserts, "it had probably been done to them." This is when it struck Biru that all the parents might have received a circular notifying them to do it to the girls during the holiday. Suddenly as she recollects, girls got busy picking the ntengo ntengo plant in their free time in preparation for pulling. Biru tells of one girl who was a very weak student, but great at everything else—dancing, sports and all. The girl got so preoccupied with pulling, so much so that within about a week she came to the dormitory, showing off the length she had achieved and attracting a lot of envy. Biru however did not follow through

with it, since nobody had checked to see her progress since the encounter with her aunt.

Jamila learnt about pulling through Hajara, a friend who had been unable to conceive for three years after her wedding. Hajara had gone to a herbalist and conceived shortly after that. As such, she became so invested in herbal medicines that she took her daughter to a herbalist to wash her in "kyogero"—a mixture of herbs used to wash new born babies in order to attract good luck, and ward away evil. Hajara, who also took her daughter of 10 years for pulling, tried to convince Jamila to take her 8 year old to a herbalist to start on the process. Hajara had convinced her 10 year old into pulling by threatening that if she did not pull, she would not be able to have children in the future. Jamila explained that pulling is cultural as Hajara is indeed "an educated person and a very good person." Like Hajara explained to Jamila, mothers and aunts no longer have to do the pulling for their daughters today, as there are commercial "sengas" who can do it. Hajara, as Jamila added, "strongly believes in it. Because she did it and she is okay…her husband is okay with it…He is a Muganda, so he understands it, and they are okay and it is one of the happy marriages."

Carol's senga told her that she had to "pull before you get your periods." There was a matron in her secondary school whose role was to educate girls about sexuality. She talked to them about relationships with boys and, hygiene: "You always have to have white panties…a girl should never have black panties." Carol has stuck to this, keeping clean parties, which she soaks in Omo or Jik: "It feels good when they are on the peg and they are white." Like Carol, Jenny's aunt strategically took her to the village during one holiday, when she knew there would be many older girls to induct her into pulling. Jenny as such, learnt the practice from her peers. Jenny explained that her aunt, having failed to gather the guts to talk to her about the practice, had taken her to her peers to teach her. For Tino, pulling was emphasized in her catholic primary school, where the matron ensured that the girls took part in the practice. The older girls assisted the younger ones to pull. Stories of being pulled by a chicken in public were narrated to scare the girls into submission. She explained that the practice is not as pervasive today: "I don't think you can round up people's daughters like that." Some people she affirms wait to get married and then only pull if their spouses like it. She recounted a message sent by a girl on Mama Tendo Foundation, a what's app women's group, appealing for help because her husband who loathes her lengthy labia minora had told her to have them surgically removed!

Bitte, who grew up in the Northern part of Uganda, only got to know about "this pulling thing" as she refers to it, only about 10 years ago—long after she was married. She also does not recall receiving any formal and/or informal education in as far as sexuality is concerned. Similarly, Brandy first heard about the idea of pulling

from a talk organized by her primary school for the girls. The teachers sat them down and in her words, "scared the living day lights out of us!" However, on questioning her mother a doctor about pulling, she discouraged Brandy from the practice. Brandy also remembers her father's assertion that, "if you get a man who prioritizes those things, you girls are not going to survive that man!" Faith also heard about pulling from her peers: "I thought it was so traumatizing!" exclaimed Faith. The girls also told her they usually pulled when they went to the well to fetch water. Faith did not pay much heed to the practice because her mother had not told her about it: "kubanga mama takingambye, then it is useless, so I ignored it, although it kept popping up." Faith's mother never discussed sexuality at all: "I came from a home where my mother never said anything—she never went there—never! Sometimes I would wonder what went on in her mind—never to talk to us even about periods—no!" Looking back, Faith now understands her mother who must have been overwhelmed with the stress of raising more than 7 children as a single parent.

Overall, the preparation of girls for their future roles as wives illuminates a gender roles discourse, as explained further in Chapter 5. Women are prepared for their traditional role as nurturers who are also modest, tender and passive (Muhanguzi, 2011) while boys are prepared to take on the role as breadwinners and as such, the head of home. The propriety expected of a good wife embodied in dress and comportment is implicated in the gendered disciplinary gaze used to regulate girls. This gendered propriety emphasized for girls, and not boys works to inform the hierarchical power arrangements within the heterosexual marital arrangements which girls are destined for, and in which men are traditionally the authorities. Yet, as demonstrated in the stories, the women navigate these norms, some taking them up, others inhabiting them, and others rejecting them as expounded further in chapter 6.

Sexuality is a part and parcel of wife-in-the-making narratives, which for most of the women involved the idea of "pulling" and/or labia elongation. This was traditionally undertaken between the age of nine and twelve and/or before menarche (first menstruation), when a girl, guided by her paternal aunt ("ssenga") was prepared for future sex (Muyinda, Nakuya, Whitworth, & Pool, 2004). This practice, also known as *okukyalira ensiko* and/or "visiting the bush", was a rite traditionally performed in a clearing among bushes where the herbs (for example, *mukasa*, *entengotengo*, and *oluwoko*) used for the procedure were found. Although the extended labia is meant to enhance the erotic experience between male and female (Sserembe, 2012; Tamale, 2005), "it is also often said to be done primarily to excite the man sexually" (Muyinda et al., 2004, p. 77). While some of the women partake in this practice as shown in the women's stories, others refrained from it. Additionally, although some of them explain the gruesomeness of the practice, none of them

discussed how this practice affected their sexuality as adults. This could be attributed to the cultural silencing around sexuality (Tamale, 2011) demonstrated even by the ways in which most of the girls' aunts/ssengas struggled to talk to them about pulling and yet it was their obligation. While labia elongation has been problematized as a harmful cultural practice oppressive for women, some feminist scholars argue that it is in fact an agentic and/or empowering practice (Sserembe, 2012; Tamale, 2005). In the pushing back on the victim narrative used to construct women who undertake this practice, some scholars have drawn a parallel between vaginal practices in Africa and female genital cosmetic surgery in the West, problematizing the inconsistencies with which Western women who undergo female genital cosmetic surgery are constructed as agentic, while African women, who undergo vaginal practices like labia elongation and female genital cutting are produced as victims of patriarchy (Ogbe & Leye, 2015).

4.3.7. Checking the Marriage and/or Children "Achievement" Box

In this section, I focus on the women's stories in regard to their marriages, pressures to get married and have children, their own plans and desires to get married and have children, their struggles within marriage, their broken marriages and relationships. It highlights multiple realities in the ways in which the women inhabit a discourse expounded in Chapter 5 of marriage as very important, also setting the stage for illuminating women's agentic scripts around marriage in Chapter 6. It also illuminates how important marriage as a rite of passage is, within the Uganda society.

While Brandy wants to have children, it would have to be in wedlock, as she loathes the idea of playing dad and mum—as a single parent. Brandy explained the difficulty of getting people to understand her stance on children, and raising their brows, they shoot with questions like, "You do not want to have a child? What is all that money you are working for?" "Why do you not want to have a child?" When she makes 45 years of age and is not married, Brandy plans to adopt a child.

Brandy was so relieved to find a position in South Africa, where unlike Uganda, one is not constantly hounded about their marital status: "for 50 weeks in a year I am a productive human being who adds value…but when I go to Uganda for 2 weeks, I am only an unmarried female with no children—that is all I am. I leave Uganda with less self-esteem than when I walked in, every time!" Brandy expressed the frustration of being reduced to unmarried women with no children every time she returns to Uganda for a short break. It is always only upon returning to South Africa that she then picks herself up again, in order to become productive. She suggests that she is answerable to God, rather than the tormentors adding, "not everybody was given the gift to be a wife. I think it is a box in the rite of passage that everybody feels they have to go through because of the society that we live in. I don't think it is

what God meant for everybody." She criticizes the disregard for her other achievements by reducing it all to childlessness, reasoning, " Everything thing I have done in my life I have first applied my mind to it. Everything! So my life cannot just be that I had a vagina and a uterus. Ahh ahhh (laughter). There has to be more."

Brandy's story is a reminder of one of my best friends who, despite marrying the love of her life, is having trouble having children. Every time I am in Uganda, the friends we have in common always ask me about this—"Has Lourdes had babies now? When will she have kids? She knows she is not getting any younger—right?" Lourdes, who lives in Austria, loathes coming home on holiday for this very reason, choosing lately to take her holidays within Europe to avoid the stress that comes with returning home.

Brandy also explained that a couple of her friends' husbands said they did not like their wives interacting with her because she is unmarried. Brandy also decries the narrative which presents single women as necessarily incomplete and unhappy: "this sad forlorn creature who sits on her own at weddings (laughter) and she is not happy." In fact at her sister's "*kwanjula"* (traditional marriage ceremony), some relatives asked Brandy how come she still looked happy yet she was still unmarried. And in her mind, Brandy wondered what they thought could have happened to her happiness.

Brandy's father came home one evening in awe that one of her closest friends Eloise, thought to be a lesbian, had gotten married. Brandy and Eloise's fathers had bumped into each other and had had a chat. They both expressed great pride in their daughters, both scientists with PhDs from prestigious universities in the U.S. Eloise's father had added with pride, that Eloise was married with a child. Brandy's father shocked, later asked Brandy:

Brandy' s dad: Why did you not tell me Eloise is no longer a homosexual?

Brandy: What do you mean?

Brandy' s dad: Eloise's father says she is married and even has a child.

Brandy**:** Yes she is married and has a child.

Brandy's dad: But you told me she was a lesbian?

Brandy: Yes her spouse is a woman.

Brandy's dad: What? So how did they have a baby?

Brandy: They had a guy in the lab who was their friend (laughter)

Brandy's dad: So Eloise's father lied to me when he said Eloise was married and has a child.

Brandy: Daddy, where is the lie in Eloise's dad's statement?" Remember your society values a woman who is married and has children. She fits in, in terms of having ticked that box, so why do you blame her father?

Fida, a former dean, talks about her struggles within marriage. She compared the kind of relationship she witnessed between her parents and the sham of a marriage,

which later disintegrated into a separation. Her father had only one wife whom he respected—which is rare today despite the modernity: "The respect of the wives which was there at that time is no longer there…Probably in my mind I was looking for a husband who would be to his wife like my father was." Fida and her husband met at the university. He was in the 2nd year of his degree in engineering while she was in her 1st year of education. They finished at the same time, as engineering is 4 years and education 3 in Ugandan universities. She got married after university and had two more children (in addition to Ines whom she had in school). Although Fida and her husband are not divorced, they live separate lives: "He is on his own and has another family of his own." He is now a member of parliament, as well as a minister in Museveni's government. Fida on the other hand, lives in a university staff house with her nieces and nephews, as her own children are now adults. She is thankful to God for having helped her forgive her husband. Although they have been separated for 23 years now, her prayer partners within her Christian fellowship continue to encourage her stating that God can reconcile anybody. At the moment, Fida and her husband are friends: "just we know he is the father of my children and I am the mother of his children."

By the time Professor Musta left Makerere University after her bachelor's degree, she had a fiancé. He got a good job with Total as soon as the two lovebirds graduated. Professor Musta on the other hand, eventually left for further studies in the United Kingdom. Her fiancé waited for her, and indeed, she acknowledges him within her doctoral dissertation. However, when she finished her doctorate, she could not return to Uganda as Amin the president of Uganda at the time, was suspicious that everyone who had gone abroad to study during the Milton Obote's regime, was an Obote sympathizer. Professor Musta's fiancé could not leave his job to join her in Zambia as the prospects there for him were low. Eventually, he met somebody else and had children with her. While many non-Ugandans expressed interest in her in Zambia, Tanzania and even Botswana when she lived in those countries, she did not find it wise to get involved with non-Ugandans because she had family responsibilities which they might not have understood.

Jamila's husband was attracted by her sense of independence: "I was an independent person. I did not rely on him, and I was getting ahead on my own. He liked that about me." This has since changed, as he accuses her for being big-headed rather than submissive. He is also surprised that "I yearn to be a woman, to be taken out and given flowers." Her husband no longer finds her independent—"all he sees is neediness," as Jamila explains. It finally dawned on her that, "Yes, I need him in my life but my life does not rotate around him. I don't need to have my whole world revolving around him." Marriage as she asserts, "becomes a bit difficult because when

you get married, you sort of throw out your friends…unfortunately the person you want to bond with is always out there and you are left alone with the kids." Her husband is more invested in making money and only appears for family events in the pretext that he is a good family man. For a long time Jamila struggled, blaming herself for the rift between her and her husband. Growing older has helped her learn that although they do not have a "normal marriage" as she refers to it, "I know that deep down he cares about me, but does not know how to show it. I am not going to dwell on the negatives. They suck the life out of you. I will focus on my life and move on and let him catch up when he is ready." They have been married for 8 years but on three occasions she has told him she is tired and wants a divorce. She recalls how someone called her right after her wedding and informed her, "we are Moslems, we are co-wives." Jamila thinks the 1year and 8 months they dated was too short, and that she would have wanted to date for at least 3 years, but her husband had been excited about marrying her. The first year of marriage was so hard for her, living with a moody husband who was only chatty and nice to other people. She decries the poor family values which reduce happiness to providing for the family rather than companionship—"I want you, I want companionship," as Jamila affirms. She resolved to stop trying, recognizing that her husband has to want her companionship at his own free volition. Recently, as she explained, he started making attempts to spend time with his children, taking them out to lunch and all, but leaving her out: "I don't feature in his life but I am okay." She eventually stopped wearing the wedding ring after 3 years of marriage, as she explains, "He has never worn his, why should I?"

Faith broke up with each of her two children's fathers, resolving not to make up with them, because she would never have forgiven herself if she had re-lived the gruesome experiences each of them had put her through. When she first went to do her Masters in Norway, she left her daughter with her mother. The father of her daughter tried to check on the baby but he did not sustain it. He also tried to reconnect with Faith, but recollecting that he had even beaten her up during their relationship, she knew she should not look back. While the relationship had been abusive in so many ways, "the deal breaker was when I got pregnant—before I got pregnant, we had been planning to get married. But this changed as soon as I got pregnant—disappearing, no communication. I think he had changed his mind. It became nasty and at one point he told me he was not interested in the responsibility." She recollects how naïve she had been when she was growing up: "thinking life was a straight line—finish school, find a man, settle down, have children (laughs)—I did not know the dynamics." Faith hopes to meet someone special and get married. She recognizes however, that her age and qualifications could act as deterrents especially in Uganda. She recollected how she and an older male friend had gone to a matchmaker in town.

The matchmaker, a woman, was very excited to find Faith's male friend a suitable match. As they talked, Faith inquired if the woman could find her a suitor too. The woman responded, "ebyo bizibu nnyo!" (that is SO difficult!). She decries the Ugandan society for closing possibility to women, while men have endless options: "I am fed up of that negativity and would like to be in a free world."

When Dina's boyfriend left her for another woman while she was pursuing her Master's degree in the U.K, she was heartbroken. She eventually returned to Uganda, and dated a Munyankole. It was great. However, his parents wanted him to marry from his tribe. They broke it up. It was painful. She eventually met Mihel whom she fell in love with. They had a good thing going until Dina got pregnant and he became distant. He started dating other women whom she saw in his car regularly. Because his houseboy was her friend, he updated Dina on the myriad of women Mihel brought to the house. The houseboy had been ordered by Mihel not to let Dina into the compound. Mihel eventually asked her to return the car he had given her to drive, leaving a heavily pregnant Dina to find her way using the unreliable public transport system in Uganda. When she went into labour, she called him to take her to the hospital. Although he said he would come, she had to call another friend given that she was in so much pain hours later and yet Mihel had not shown up. Gisela a friend of hers, took Dina to hospital and attended to her. Although she had planned to have a normal delivery, she had to have an emergency caesarean. Mihel turned up two days later with not as much as an apology. Fortunately, he cleared the hospital bill. The relationship remained strained. He sometimes came to pick up their son, but annoyed Dina when she found out that he always took her son to his girlfriends. When she eventually had to go to the US for three months, he refused to be supportive, asking her to cancel the trip and remain with her son. Dina found a friend who committed to looking after Anthony, their son. Mihel did not check on Anthony in the three months she was away. When she received her scholarship to pursue her PhD in the US, she was determined to go with her son, but was aware that Mihel would try to fight her, for the sake of frustrating her. She found a lawyer and without his knowledge, she got legal custody. As legal custodian, she got the visa and entered the US as a student. She came to the US, still bearing the brunt of the relationship with Mihel. This coupled with financial struggles, the adjustment to new environment, and the juggle as a student parent, was too much for her: "but we have been managed…I was fragile when I came here, but thank God for girlfriends." Mihel eventually got in touch with them. At first Dina entertained his phone calls, for the sake of maintaining a father-son relationship for her son. However the relationship started heading for the rocks again, when Dina found out that Mihel used her and her son to siphon money from his colleagues, claiming he was supporting his wife and child in the US. This was painful

given that he had failed to contribute to Anthony's health insurance despite having made a promise to contribute. The relationship disintegrated, making Dina re-live some of her past with him. She cut him off, blocking all communication to give herself time to pick up the pieces again. Dina is now more invested in finishing her doctorate and building a house for her and her son to live in when they return to Uganda.

Tino plans to get married to her partner a self-employed businessman, and to have 2 more children with him. Gloria, a single woman who is dating, also plans to get married: "so I am dating and I want to push this PhD out of the way so that I can embark on marriage and family." She says her partner who also has a PhD in mathematics is not threatened by her academic career growth. Rather, "He actually encourages me to finish first before I embark on family issues. He is someone who has actually done a lot for me." Tired of living alone as she put it, Liz plans to get married: "It's a good thing—one of the things I am looking forward to. She is not dating yet, but hopes she can meet someone special soon. Although she always wanted 4 children, she has had to rethink this number given that she is soon 40. Nonetheless, she explains that the possibility of 4 still stands, especially if she can have two sets of twins. Brenda, obviously tired of talking about marriage was very final in stating that she wants to get married this year and have children.

Sr. Lucretia stayed home for at least a year after her S.6 because her mother and siblings had explicitly disapproved of her choice to become a nun. During that time, her older brother tried hard to find her a man to marry her. He brought his male friends home, and Sr. Lucretia served them as was required of her, disappearing until they left the home. Her older brother also took her dancing on two occasions: "It was always his friends that he brought to dance with me, but it did not work out." Sr. Lucretia eventually parked up and left home for the convent, against her mothers and siblings' approval. In the 3rd year of her stay at the convent, her mother came to visit her in the novitiate—a place of seclusion for 2 years, where they were are not supposed to be visited or go outside the gate unaccompanied. An older nun was responsible for doing any tasks outside the novitiate such as shopping for the nuns. Most of the time in the novitiate was spent in prayer, to help the nuns decide whether to continue or leave the convent. Sr. Lucretia's mother brought her saucepans, cups, plates, and a mingling stick for her to start her own house. The mistress in charge of the nuns told Sr. Lucretia's mother that she would not need those things as nuns live collectively as a congregation. Sr. Lucretia was allowed to return home to visit her family for two weeks each year. At a thanksgiving mass said in her honour during one of those 2-week holidays, her mother had cried from the beginning to the end of the mass. As Sr. Lucretia explained, "She looked at me as somebody who is lost, of no

value to her anymore." This has changed now that Sr. Lucretia is an adult: "She is now happy that I am a nun…as a nun, you can easily come to me any time am sick, which would not happen if you were married."

On the whole, marriage within the Ugandan cultural context is perceived as a compulsory step within the rite of passage (Ayiga & Rampagane, 2013; Lovell, 2010; Muhanguzi, 2011). It is valorised in ways that overshadow and reduce an unmarried woman's achievements to a *lack, absence, failure* to find a husband, which renders her incomplete and in *need* of complete*ness*. It is not surprising that most of the women yearn to get married. Walkerdine attributes this to some women's desire to plug unfulfilled desires for romantic love, bound up with "the way in which girls are prepared for entry into heterosexual practices, in particular for romantic love" (1990, p. 87). Yet the obstacles to this "crowning glory"—as Brandy sarcastically referred to marriage, are a myriad for most of these women. For some women it was their advance in age, a threat to their reproductive power, while for others, their high academic achievements which threaten power relations within marriage. High academic qualifications for these women, like the Jewish women in Longman's study, "would not look good on their marriage curriculum vitae" (2008, p. 228), making it more difficult for the women to find potential husbands. Yet as Jacques and Radtke conclude in regard to a study on university girls in the U.K, "despite changes in young women's expectations for adulthood including global occupational upward mobility, and the de-valuing of being just a wife, adherence to tradition has remained prevalent" (2012, P. 444). This desire to get married and have children remains dominant both with non-Western and Western contexts. While marriage espouses some of the women in my study, in a cultural context where it is equated to success, for others it places them in a precarious position. Yet, as demonstrated in Chapter 6, these women navigate these normatively precarious gender arrangements to remake their realities.

4.3.8. Tales of Damnation and Detours Enroute the PhD

This section focuses on the women narratives around fears in regard to leaving their homes in order to pursue further studies abroad. While these fears were internal—emanating from the women themselves, they were also largely external, stemming from threats produced by their society. Most of the threats revolved around the toll this would take on their children, but also the possibility of losing their husbands to other women, and thus breaking up their families. The women stories show different scripts in this regard, also revealing that keeping their families together is their obligation and is important to them.

These tales started right after I announced that I had received a scholarship to pursue my postgraduate degree abroad. I remember bumping into a friend and former

classmate in a supermarket. She cautioned me about leaving my baby stating, “Lydia, you know your baby needs you.” Another male colleague, who incidentally had also left his wife and children to pursue a doctorate warned, “You will regret this!” and another female colleague at work assured me affirming, “Your baby will never bond with you.” I struggled with these voices in my head—reasoning with myself that children need us all of the time. When I was in that labour ward as a 27 year old having my first baby for example, I yearned for my late mother who had passed away more than 10 years before —comforting myself, I reasoned that in fact children need us a whole lot more when they are older. I have also spoken back to these narratives using poetry:

The Wind Beneath My Wing

Sometimes I want to scream out
To those who taunt and torment me
For leaving my children for a PhD
Those who wonder again and again
How a mother could abandon her children
For a paper – “a mere paper,” they add.

I want to tell them they need not torment me
For I am a soul already tormented –
A soul that ponders over my decision
Every day that breaks and sets –
A soul aware she made a difficult decision
For her good and that of her family.

I want to tell my numerous tormenters
Some of whom mean well, I know,
That my decision was motivated by love –
That even in my absence from my children
I passionately hug and kiss them
And pray and sing them to bed even from so far.

I want to yell at them again and again
That they are mistaken in what they think –
That I am not the callous woman they think I am
She who would rather study than mother
Her eye focused on that high degree
That a loving mother could have sacrificed.

Sometimes I want to scream at them
A truth that they will never know:
It is my children who start the engine

It is my children who oil the wheels
It is my children who keep it rolling
They are the wind beneath my wing.

(Lydia, May, 2016)

Bitte, drawing from her own experience affirmed that she would advise younger women to pursue certain dreams when their children are younger, as they have less demands. Bitte's husband had taken on the responsibility of minding the children in her absence—including the baby. He, according to Bitte, had said, "just said go!" as did Andrew, my husband when I got the scholarship. Andrew resolved to take care of our 3 children himself—going to work by day with 2 of the children who went to school, and leaving Gail, our 2.5 months old baby with a baby-sitter. Andrew then took over from the baby-sitter in the evenings, bottle-feeding and soothing Gail to sleep. Andrew's parents and his siblings have been part of the support network, specifically his parents—mayi and papa as we call them, as well as his brother Joseph, who also took the children into their home and loved and cared for them. While this gave me some semblance of peace, the barrage of ridicule spelling doom continued to lash at me: "You have forgotten the sharp girls in Kampala! Your husband is a goner. How can you leave your husband? He will get stolen. How do you leave your children? They will not remember you!" Bitte, relating to this narrative, explained:

> I think my husband got it really hard because everyone said he is hopeless. How can he allow a woman to go away and leave such a child and my aunts said to me, the children will never know me…and that I would even lose my husband…My husband is the one who felt it most because he remained here with the child and when the child fell sick they said "we told you. Why did you allow her to go?" but he is a medical doctor so he was able to handle.

Bitte realized that some of these sob stories eventually got to her. She inwardly questioned why it is that her husband was so willing to let her leave for her PhD abroad, and yet they were newlyweds: "Is he sincere? Does he just want me to be away?" Looking back as she acknowledges, she recognizes that her husband was just being supportive of her career.

In planning to leave for France for the very first time during her PhD, Jenny heard many stories of women who left for further studies, only to find that their husbands had replaced them with another woman. Some colleagues in her department cautioned her: "since you are going for 3 months, mumuleke ko omusajja yeyagale ko" meaning, she should leave the husband to enjoy himself (with other women) since she was going to be away. In response, Jenny spoke back to these tales, giving examples of people who had stayed together with their husbands and still gotten

divorced or separated. In one story Jenny narrated, the man always returned home by 5:00p.m every day "—very good man! (sarcam) but then what happens? The wife realizes the guy has 3 children elsewhere." In talking back to the tales of damnation, she affirmed, "So if you tell me I should not go abroad because I have to keep my man, you are just joking…If he wants to go, he will go even if you are under his nose." Although she recognized that the temptation might be stronger during the separation of couples, she also acknowledged that if she can be faithful, so can her husband. In the beginning, these stories had gotten to her—buzzing in her head so much that she started to police her husband, calling and interrogating him for being out so late: "Are you at home? Why are you not at home?" She eventually learned to let it be: "It comes down to trust. I actually decided to trust God for him."

In talking back to the tales of damnation, Cherry explained that she would not let marriage stand in the way of her own progress because as she explained: "It can fail even when I am with him…He is an adult and if he chooses to separate, it is up to him." Indeed at a time when she thought she had been doing her role as a wife in the home, she found out her husband had fathered children with two different women. This hit her hard, given her upbringing in a loving monogamous family:

> You know my mother and father love each other so much! so having seen them, they talk and plan and discuss…So when I was getting into marriage life, I thought I was getting a model of a father for a husband, but I was disappointed. So because of the disappointments ...I decided, it is Cherry and my children.

Cherry realized her husband was cheating when she noticed his strange mannerisms, but did not have evidence until one of the women called her explaining that she is the second wife to Cherry's husband and that they have a child. "It hit me! It hit me so hard! I am now immune," affirmed Cherry. She confronted her husband, who first denied, until one morning a couple of weeks later, when he confessed and even disclosed that he had fathered two more children. One of the children moved in unceremoniously and although he lives with them, Cherry's children have rejected him. Because Cherry's husband, a biology graduate is currently unemployed, she has to fend for the family, paying all the bills, buying the food and even giving him money on the myriad of occasions he has called her in this regard.

Jose plans to undertake her doctoral studies abroad because of the paucity of resources in Uganda to facilitate her PhD work in emerging technologies. She is currently completing the scholarship registration process for a PhD in a South African university, where she has received admission. Her main concern is that she is married and has very young children who need her: "What will happen when I go away? What will happen to my marriage? But then I have to do this also to improve my career

prospects." As a mother, she explains, she has such a bond with her children that she worries they will miss out on so much in her absence. Her 8 year old as she affirms, needs a lot of attention and counselling. She is also concerned about her 2 year old, who is sickly and, was recently admitted in critical condition for a whole week. She resolves to communicate with them regularly on Skype, but is most hopeful that her professor will let her take on a sandwich program, so that she is able to come home more regularly, to take care of her children. Her husband, also a lecturer at a university and a doctoral candidate in a Ugandan university is supportive sometimes: "It is on and off. Today he is supportive then tomorrow he is not." Part of the problem is his friends who put ideas in his head. Jose has taken time to reassure him that the decision for her to go abroad is between them as a couple and that he should ignore what other people might think. Even her own colleagues have joked, taunting Jose about leaving her husband to study abroad:" Whom are you leaving the man for? Men are supposed to be looked after." Some of his friends have even encouraged him to find someone to replace Jose in the meantime. She is critical of the idea that it is men's interests that matter: "Usually it is about him and not about us…They can and they are hard on us." She questions why it is that women are the ones who are expected to wait, and not men. When she and her husband first started dating, he went to Malaysia for 6 months. They called each other as regularly as possible, and before they knew it, six months had elapsed. In that time, she waited and was faithful to him: "why is this not expected of men?" she asked. Jose emphasized that she would not sacrifice her PhD as she is likely to regret it. She also resolved that how he chooses to behave in her absence is entirely up to him, and, out of her control. Her personal conviction as she affirms, "is that even when I am around if he wants to cheat he still will. I don't need to be there and maybe it is good that it is testing our marriage."

Some of the threats of damnation delivered on their promise, as some of the women indeed lived through broken relationships which happened after they left for school. When Dina first went to Leeds to pursue her Master's degree, she did not feel threatened that her boyfriend would move on. They called each other on the phone and kept the communication lines open—or so she thought. Toward the end of her degree, she jokingly told him that she would not live in the house with him, as he had been there with other women. He was quick to tell her that whatever she had heard, she should ignore because she was still the woman he loved. "This caught me!" she said. Dina then decided to investigate. The woman she had hired to come clean up her boyfriend's house in her absence, told her that another girl had moved in as soon as Dina left the country. This was confirmed by some of their neighbours, who told Dina that they had seen her boyfriend with a different girl throughout the year. Dina confronted him about it. Indeed, when she called the house later in the week, the new

girl picked up and told her: “we shall see who will win!” This is when Dina decided to call off the relationship.

When Biru returned to the UK for her PhD, It was with but a broken heart. She had really wanted to take her children along since her marriage was on the rocks as she explained. Failing to get the visa to take them, because the visa authorities required that she take her husband too if the children were going with her, she got into a depression. She received counselling from her graduate tutor, who also encouraged her to see a counsellor, which she did, but it did not help. In a moment of clarity one day, Biru walked into the graduate tutor’s office, and affirmed, “I could end up losing both my marriage and the opportunity to do my PhD if I continue like this.” The graduate tutor responded that she had been waiting for Biru to see it that way. Nonetheless, she reminded Biru that the university could make provisions for her to return home and sort out her children, but this she warned, would also prolong the PhD program. Biru’s husband, who had been supportive of her academic progress right from her bachelor’s degree had encouraged her to go for the PhD. However, Biru’s aunt had warned her, “But what about the man? How can you leave your man? …When you come back and he has moved on, I don’t even want to hear you complaining!” Unbeknownst to her relatives that her husband had cheated before, her aunt warned her that her absence is likely to wedge a gap, which would tempt him to find another woman. As her aunt and other people agonized over her marriage, Biru was more preoccupied with worry about her children and how they would cope in her absence. Because her husband had previously gone to study abroad for two years, she reasoned that he would wait for her the way she had for him. However, on her return after the first year of the program, she heard rumours that he was in a relationship. She confronted him about it and he confessed. It was quite shocking at the time:

> Funny thing is when I was abroad, I did not get wind of it because we would communicate regularly. I remember my first December abroad, I told him it was going to be very lonely because most people would leave for Christmas holidays. He called everyday just so that I could at least hear a voice from home.

On her final return after the completion of her PhD, she realized with some form of relief, that it was not her absence that had caused her husband’s infidelity. The relationship with the other woman had been ongoing before her departure, as her husband had a child who was older than the duration of her PhD: “my going away gave him room to continue.” Biru had had to take her youngest son to boarding school when she first learnt about her husband’s infidelity, realizing as she explained, “that the home was no longer stable.” Although she had planned to return from UK after her PhD and move out, she has decided to stay for a while longer because she does not

want to destabilize her children. Although her husband regularly returns home, it was painful on the days that he did not. She has made peace:

> I am working with the positives, my children are okay, especially the young one. But I will be moving out with time. I have built my own house. Right now I am trying to catch up with the children. The funny thing he still insists that he loves me. But I can't work it out how one can cheat and still love you. Some people think that men are to be shared and that it should be enough that he gets to come home, but that is not enough for me.

Looking back, Biru reminisces over the first opportunity she turned down to go to the US after her first degree in which she had a first class. She did not follow up on the opportunity because at that time, she was having problems with her husband, and, she told herself, as she explains, "I am not leaving my husband behind. I just did not even look at the opportunity. I did not even want to consider it. I also had a child, and wondering where to leave him."

An enduring threat to Professor Musta during her PhD was the wrath of President Idi Amin's government, which in 1971, blacklisted her and other students who had gone abroad on government scholarships. These students were suspected of having allegiance to former President Obote's regime, which had been overthrown by Amin. Professor Musta's scholarship was from University of York, rather than a government scholarship. Amin's regime had however, blacklisted all students abroad at that time. Indeed, all those who had actually been sponsored by the former government had their scholarships withdrawn, giving most of them no choice but either to drop out or work very hard to pay their own tuition and living expenses. Professor Musta thanked God that she had been privately sponsored, otherwise she would have suffered like the rest of her colleagues. Amin's regime remained such a threat so much so that even when Professor Musta completed her PhD, she dared not return to Uganda to seek employment at Makerere University, one of the best universities in Africa at the time. Affirming that she "could not come back home directly when Amin was here murdering everybody", she explained that her parents warned her not to return to Uganda, otherwise "you will not even get home, you will be whisked away. You land and the agents are already waiting for you. You cannot even get home." This forced her to apply for a job at a university in Zambia, which was her first appointment after the PhD.

Gloria is in the final stages of writing up, and plans to finish her PhD in a year's time. She has done her PhD for three years, which is unlike most PhDs at Makerere, which take at least 5-10 years to complete. She affirmed that indeed 3 years is shorter than most: "when I do something, I want to do it and finish it. I know the Makerere degrees usually take long, but even with the masters, I was the first person

to finish in two years. PhD, I will be done in 3 years for sure." Gloria's tuition is not an issue as it is remitted by a staff development given her status as a lecturer within the university. The biggest hurdle was a lack of a spectrum analyser, needed as equipment within her research process. Her study focuses on radiation and masts, but the telecom companies, which had promised access to their spectrum analysers bailed out in the end. Because this equipment is expensive, Gloria felt stranded for a while: "they tossed me around—it's the only problem I have faced." Given that her area of research is novel within Uganda, her supervisor decided to buy the spectrum analyser, well aware that other students would need it.

Bitte applied and was awarded a scholarship with Canadian International Development. She was admitted to do her PhD for 3 years in Canada but she eventually withdrew from the program, returning to Uganda:

> It became a hard time…I had actually gone through the courses of the PhD…I was now left with comprehensive exam and the thesis…I imagine if someone had counselled me may be I would have held on to it a little bit and completed. But I wrote to the university and said I don't think I can handle this anymore, I am going back…they gave me a higher diploma so I came back to Makerere.

Pursuing a doctorate in the West is considered more prestigious than doing it locally in Uganda. Bitte however, withdrew from the program at a university in Canada and completed her doctorate at Makerere University in Uganda. This was made possible by the structures in place, which enabled her to get supervisory support from both universities. As Bitte explained earlier, although she had received a coveted scholarship to study abroad, her second born was only a month old, making it hard for her to imagine how she would have coped for three years at the university.

I can relate to Bitte, having left my third born, Gail at 2.5 months (yes—months!) to take up my scholarship at Manchester University in the United Kingdom, where I had got my first award to pursue a doctorate. It was a most dark time in my life. I could "hear" my baby cry all the way from Uganda. The pain, and self-interrogation did not go away—It just got more bearable with time. When the summer break finally came, I could not fathom what it would feel like to hold my baby—and my other two children—George (4) and Gaby (2) at the time. I took a much needed two months holiday. At the end of the holiday, I stayed an extra two weeks, which in the end was the last straw in costing the renewal of my scholarship. I returned to the U.K—broken—my son had looked me in the eye at the airport, and with a dimpled cheek, he asked me: "Will you come back soon?" and I said, "yes, yes, I will." I got onto the plane in tears. Little did I know that these tears were but a drop in the ocean, compared to the ones I would cry on my way out of the U.K in pain and humiliation. I returned to a supervisor—Helen—who was up in arms that I had stayed longer, even

if I had communicated that I had not been well. This culminated into a battle in which I fought tooth and nail to get back into her good graces—in vain. Just to give you an insight—I was so damned in as far as she was concerned: damned if my work was great—then she would retort that she doubts I had done it myself—leading to a barrage of questions to reassure herself that indeed, it was *my* work—damned also, if the work was not great—suggesting as she let the cat out many a time, that the university standard was too high for me! In one of the supervisory meetings, as I presented my work, Helen burst out laughing—I have never known why. Amanda, my second supervisor and I waited for her to finish her raucous laugh before I proceeded with my presentation. In the end, Helen was required to recommend me for the renewal of my grant, which she did grudgingly and secretively after so much begging and fretting on my part. In hindsight, I was but a black smudge on her white wall—and wipe me out she did. My grant was not renewed and after a gruesome semester punctuated with worry and stress, I returned home—burning with shame—shame that I would be looked at as a failure—shame, that I had left my children—only to chase the wind—shame, shame, shame. I picked up the pieces—with the help of my husband Andrew and my dad—I stumbled up—tried to find my feet. Dad reassured me that "destiny can be paused, but it cannot be stopped!" I held on to this.

Now that my funding had been pulled out from under my feet, I had to downgrade from the PhD to an MSc, which required I write a dissertation. Helen and Amanda supervised my dissertation. Helen specifically commended the "hard work" and "a really good analysis," and Amanda, "the breadth" of my reading. I submitted my dissertation, and wiped what I thought were the dwindling tears of a most dark time. I refocused on searching for funding to do the PhD, with the strength that the MSc from Manchester would be a vantage point for PhD funding. Nothing could have prepared me for the 58% on my provisional transcript! I received another shocker when I discovered that Helen had been one of the markers! Helen, the first marker, had awarded 58%, which Kirsten, the second had also awarded! I knew (as I know now) that Helen had used this opportunity to prove the point she had made the first day I entered her office—that I was incapable of doing a PhD—a point that dominated all the progress reports she had written about me. Kirsten, had simply skim-read the dissertation, which was evident from scanty notes, which queried the absence of sections that were in fact, in the dissertation. I consulted Amanda who was shocked by the outcome and, that she had not been asked to second-mark the dissertation.

It was now time to throw my PhD plans out the window—at least momentarily, and to fight a losing battle against a professor whose colleagues *daren't* oppose. Although I had reported Helen's conduct towards me prior to this, nothing had been done. When I applied for a remark, Helen and Kirsten fought tooth and nail to block

it. Their reports and my response were sent to the Dean within the School, whose response was that the right procedures had been followed. I requested him to look into the *content* rather than focus on *procedure.* I also questioned why both assessors had vehemently blocked a re-mark if they had assessed me objectively, and had nothing to hide—this question has remained with me since. I resolved to look for funding again, and alas! Here I am—a professional doctorate at Columbia University, and a PhD in Gender and Diversity at Gent University (so help me God!). I carry Helen with me—flashes of her come and go—one of those moments inspired a poem.

A Black Smudge off the Window

Wiping the smudge off the window
Is what you did
What you did to me.

Wiping the smudge off the window
Was not enough
Not enough for you.

You had to dig
Dig the deepest hole.
You had to bury the smudge
Bury me to leave no trace.

(By Lydia, 21st 11 2012)

Overall, the tales of damnation for career women are linked to their "natural" role to care for the home and raise children (Foulds, 2014; Walkerdine, 1990). As such, Foulds affirms that "While women's political engagement is still subtly tied to their role as mothers, men do not have the same responsibilities" (2014, p. 666). Indeed, while the women in my study faced a myriad of struggles during the PhD such as racism and lack of equipment, it is the issues linked to their families, such as concern about the children and infidelity in their marriages which destabilized them. Bitte for example, gave up her PhD in Canada to complete it in a less prestigious university at home, where she could take care of her children; Biru suffered depression when she learnt of her husband's infidelity, which had made her home unstable for the children; I wrestled with guilt for having left my children—only to chase the wind in the UK. The "yoke" of motherhood is indeed heavy, yet it is a joy for the women in this study, who found ways of navigating motherhood *and* career, within a cultural context structured to polarize these private and public spheres, as expounded in chapter 6.

4.3.9. Children and Career: A Jigsaw Puzzle

A jigsaw puzzle requires the assembly of often oddly shaped interlocking and tessellating pieces. It is a great image for trying to make sense of fitting the oddly interlocking pieces of children and career. This section focuses on narratives women told about their struggles in juggling these two important aspects of their lives. It reveals that while women are invested in working within public spaces, they also hold family, specifically care for their children as important to them.

Even before she had the children, Bitte decided to keep the teaching position at the university, because her children would be entitled to free and/or subsidized costs when they got to the university. She also rejected leadership positions at the university:

> My own argument was that my children should first join secondary school because the work that goes into leadership is much…once you are leader there are certain things you cannot plan …Just as you are preparing to go home you are called for a meeting at 5! …Now just assume you have a child to pick up at 4:30 …So I said "No" I don't think I will be able to do it.

Bitte affirmed that the university is the best place for a woman to work given that it affords women the flexibility and discretion to plan and do their work, making it possible for them to fit in the demands of child care. Taking on leadership at the university nonetheless has been a challenging but rewarding experience for Bitte**.** She explains that it exposes one to networks and interactions outside the classroom. However, it also puts a strain on the time for other core dimensions—the whole of 2015 as she explains, Bitte did not get to publish any papers. Administrative work has also put a strain on the amount of time she can spend with her family. She has navigated this by encouraging her children to make known their needs way in advance, in order to give her time to fit them into her work schedule: "So they all know…tell me early so you also have to plan…when I don't go to their school on Friday, they call and ask, 'Mummy why didn't you come?' and I say 'I didn't have time', and then they say 'okay I will wait for you on Monday.' Life continues."

Carol took a break from teaching, which she had grown to love, devoting time instead to raise her children. After the break of about 7 years, she applied for a teaching position and returned to the classroom: "You know what? Once a teacher always a teacher!" she exclaimed. Speaking with emotion, she explained how satisfying she feels every time she meets her former students who tell her about their progress—as doctors, engineers, lawyers—she feels a high sense of achievement and content. Although she took off time from her career for her children, she still questions whether it was actually sufficient: "I don't even know if I have given them

enough time but I feel like I have put all my plans on hold because of them, which is not a bad thing. I am thinking when I really make up my mind in a year or two about what I want to study, I will return to school." Carol intends to return to school to pursue a master's degree, and later find a sandwich program for her PhD where she can travel back and forth between school and the family: "I don't want to be away for 5 years for a PhD. I wish I can be able to go and come back. But I don't want to give up on my dream because if mommy is focused, then the children will follow." She suggests that the PhD is not only a dream for her, but will also serve to inspire her children.

For Fida, the Master's degree in physics took much longer because of the juggle between career and family: **"**during that same period I had my two children and it was not easy in that you have to look after children." She recounted how meetings with her supervisor would have to be postponed when a child suddenly got very ill and she ended up in the hospital instead. At some point it became too much that the supervisor asked her: "why is it that whenever we make an appointment is when your children fall sick?" As a mother, Fida affirmed, "there is no way you can…leave the father take the child and you come for the meeting." She took much longer to finish the masters because she had to care for her children too. The PhD was not as much a hassle as the masters because the children had grown up. At meetings in which women's concerns are discussed, Fida always raises child bearing time as a difficult time: "We cannot postpone getting married or having children but we can postpone studies little bit." As such, she has advocated that the age limit for women to receive scholarships for further studies should be extended beyond 35 years because at this time, many have the obligation of taking care of their young children. By 40, their children will have grown, giving them more flexibility to pursue further studies. It is difficult to combine both, and yet doing the PhD first could reduce women's chances of having children because of the ticking biological clock.

Indeed, Tino's struggle to get admission into a university abroad was the age restrictions. Most of the scholarships she attempted to apply for rejected her application largely on the basis of her age. The cut off was 30 and yet Tino was 32 years. An opportunity finally showed itself and she gained admission into a university in Austria. The first 8 months away from home were so difficult as Tino missed her 2.5-year-old daughter gravely. She called home almost every day, spending a lot on international calls. When she did return, her daughter did not recognize her. It was so hard to return to Austria after the holiday. She then requested for permission to stay longer, in the pretext as she put it, that she was collecting more samples and doing extractions for her research. During the 8 months at home, she hardly made any progress with her work, as she would have in Austria where she would not have had to

attend to family obligations. Eventually, she returned to Austria, and although she sometimes called to talk to her daughter, her daughter would not talk to Tino as she seemed too engrossed in her own activities. Realizing she was stressing herself, she stopped calling almost completely. She had left her daughter with her cousin who also had children. She felt that she was in good hands. She did not leave her with her partner because they were not married yet, and she did not want to risk the daughter ending up at her partner's parents' house where she as an unmarried mother would not have had any control.

Jenny was registered as a PhD student at Makerere University. However, given the absence of some of the equipment for her analysis, she took advantage of the collaboration with the French Institute where she went to do lab work for at least four months every year. Leaving the children for Jenny, was in her words "the hardest part of the PhD." By the time she took her first trip to France in 2009, she had a 1 year and 8 months child whom she left with her husband. Her husband did a great job as the boy looked healthy, but as she explains: "by the time I came back, he did not even want to look at me." Jenny had to work hard in order to bond with her son again. She explained that, " It is not easy especially when you leave a child at home, and the child is used to you, and you as well are always thinking about this kid." There are times she awoke in the middle of the night and in a panic, called her husband to check on her son, only to receive reassurance that he was well and sound asleep.

In 2010 when she returned to France, she was pregnant. She had not planned to get pregnant at the time because the project she worked with in France was time bound. Now that she was pregnant, a number of questions run through her mind: "now what can I do? Am I just going to give up on this?" Pregnancy meant that she was not supposed to come in contact or proximity with some of the chemicals and specimen, as they would be unsafe for the baby. Her project supervisors were hesitant to work with her as a pregnant women given the restrictions around health and safety. In the end however, because the project was time bound, they agreed to make Jenny a health and safety plan: "If I used any chemical, they would make sure I was protected—cover the nose, whole body." It was difficult for Jenny to work under such restrictions, but she was glad that adjustments had been made, making it possible for her to get some of her work done. She did return to France the third time, this time leaving 2 children with her husband, "It was still the same issue—missing them, not knowing how they are…I remember when they would fall sick, and you wonder will they be taken care of properly? I think it is the hardest part of the PhD." She explains however, "when you have a target and someone behind you, someone who wants you to succeed—it works. Every time the trip came, he (her husband) told me 'it's okay, you can go, I will take care of the children."

Jenny's experience resounds my own with such similarity that she could have been reading from the same script! Leaving my children always hurt so badly. I always started feeling the separation anxiety at least two weeks to my departure date, failing to sleep and going on guilt trips. The first time I left, I left all three children, with the baby only 2.5 months—till this day I question—Is it better to leave when they are so young since they seem to move on quickly? Yet I think this "logic" is based on the idea that they do not speak and question—which does not mean they moved on quickly. I interviewed Jenny the day before my return to Gent, and I told her about how the previous night, my 9 year old daughter Gaby, had suddenly grabbed me: "mummy, please do not go, there are universities here, you can complete from here." My children keep a calendar and always know how many days before I leave—yes it is the hardest part of the PhD—most hard hitting for me, as I watch my family struggle in preparation for my departure. Indeed, whenever it was time to return home to spend some much coveted time with Andrew and our children, my excitement was always drowned out by the awareness that I was, but reaping open scabs from healing wounds—that we would have to re-live the pain of separation after the two months holiday, which I was privileged to get because my supervisor, Chia, made it possible. Like Jenny, I have coped abroad by filling my time with work in order to occupy the mind lest I lost it. Jenny's colleagues applauded her for long hours she spent in the laboratory: "Everybody thought I was very hardworking, which is true, but most of it was really to protect myself, so that when I returned to my room, I was too tired to think." It is torture.

Biru's older son deteriorated during the time she was away to do her PhD: "My son became stubborn, dirty, started coming home really late." At a critical time when she was writing her thesis, she received news that her older son had failed all his exams. She remembers standing up and walking round the building a couple of times. It took another week for her to get herself to start writing again. One of her friends had encouraged Biru to take her son abroad with her. As everyone blamed Biru, she talked herself through this, recognizing that her son was actually an adult. The younger boy, whom she had taken to boarding school when her husband got another women during her absence, had coped much better. All she had to do was promise to get him all the "goodies" on his wish list. Rather than take him into another home where he might hava been treated like a second-class citizen, taking him to boarding school gave Biru the assurance he would cope well with other children like himself, whose parents were not present. There were weeks when Biru could not get herself to sleep, and when she did sleep, she would have nightmares and talk in her sleep with worry about her children. She eventually settled in, talking herself into finding peace and using very radical means like removing all reminders of her children including

their photos from her wallet and phone. The idea that she had put her youngest boy into a boarding school strangely moved her to work harder, recognizing that the little boy was making sacrifices too. When the boy started doing well in school, Biru was even more motivated to work hard in order to meet him somewhere! Biru also told herself that she would not feel guilty for doing her PhD: "I will not feel guilty about it. I was there for my family when I was around, and even when I return, I will be there for them."

Professor Musta did not have biological children, yet the demands of family as she explained, continued to draw her in different directions. Following a request from her father, Professor Musta legally adopted two of her siblings. She then organized visas for them to move to Zambia where she had got her first appointment as a lecturer at a university. In Zambia however, there was an economic crisis, which made life financially untenable to support her and the children. Food was rationed, necessitating the queuing for some of the basic necessities because of the scarcity. This moved her to apply for a job in Dare-es-saalm, which she was immediately offered, only to get there and find that the education system could not serve her siblings as the language of instruction was Swahili, rather than English with which they were familiar. As such, she had to send the children back home. However, being that she was not an expatriate, it became difficult to officially send money home for them, as it was illegal. She found herself having to travel to the boarder, risking so much in order to send this money home. When her two-year contract in Dar-es-salaam expired, she applied for job in Botswana, where she would be an expatriate with remittance rights to send money home to fend for her family. While she was in Botswana, her mother, in Uganda at the time, got very sick and by coincidence President Idi Amin, who had been a threat to her status in Uganda was overthrown. She could now apply for a job at Makerere University, which she did. This made it possible for her to return to Uganda, where her terminally ill mother was always saying, "maybe if my child was here she would treat me." Professor Musta got to nurse her mother who was terminally sick with cancer of the liver. Her mother died in her arms: "at least I looked after her and she died, I believe, happy because she knew that I had done my best." She explained that within an African context, whether you are married or not, the juggling of family and career mean that you are never free: "If it is not a husband it will be parents, siblings—all those things pulling you, giving all those conflicts, complicating your life."

Jamila, a part time lecturer of physics, and banker, just finished her ACCA and has started on an MBA. She is quick to explain that she would not pursue a PhD. This as she explained, is because she is already bogged down as mother, wife, worker and student at the moment: "It is too much. I don't want to drive myself more than I have

to. And now I have young children, I still have a one-year old. I have to take things in a pace I can handle." Well aware that she was doing her ACCA in an evening program, her husband accused her of coming home late every day, and yet they have young children. He raised this concern again when they had a meeting with the elders to advise them on their marital breakdown. This ticked her off because he was well aware that she had classes in the evening. The ACCA classes run after work from 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. on weekdays. Jamila also struggled with the fact that she did not spend enough time with her children—and this remains one of her struggles even today. She resorted to missing her Saturday MBA class just to take her daughter out, as the guilt was killing her. Jamila also has a two-year-old son, whom she explains, misses her and cries every time she leaves for work. Her greatest concern is not about the marriage—"not the husband. It's the children's time I am feeling bad about." Yet she recognizes that a postgraduate qualification would improve her opportunities, to benefit both the children and herself. Nonetheless, she worries that she has to sacrifice time spent with the children in order to get this done.

Jamila also takes care of her teenage stepdaughter—"a real messy girl", as she describes her: "you come and find she has stuck dirty sanitary towels under the bed. So I tell her pick them up and take them to the latrine. I tell her you are going to grow up to be a woman why are you being so dirty?" Jamila, raised by a stepmother who treated her as her own, explained that although she has tried to raise her husband's daughter like her own, the girl is very distant. She is also a negative influence on Jamila's own daughter: "My daughter was a nice neat clean girl but now!" Her daughter has now learnt to eat and leave plates under the chair. Jamila explains that she has "talked and talked and has come to accept that fine, this is personality which may change over time." She admits however, that she has to continue having these talks with the children, recognizing however that she will not let it get to her anymore: "I think as you grow older you mellow. I now choose my fights. I don't sweat the small stuff anymore." There are times when her daughter has complained about how tough Jamila is: "mommy you are so hard on me. I don't even see you smiling." At such times, she has felt so guilty that she has second-guessed herself, questioning, "Am I doing the right thing? Maybe I am treating her like a stepdaughter?" She has then taken a day out to spoil her—"go to the salon, restaurant, do nails," in order to make it up to her daughter.

Jamila complained that her stepdaughter eats too much: **"**she loves to eat. I have talked to that girl but she eats, eats, and eats. But I have told the father that this girl thinks more of food than school." Jamila's husband is the one who visits her stepdaughter on visiting days in her boarding school. Jamila complains that he spoils her by buying too much stuff for her. Her academic performance is also poor "bottom

of class for three years. She has now pulled up. We told her that if she has to repeat again we will take her back to S1." Jamila told her husband that they should hold back on the amount of shopping until her stepdaughter's grades improved. Although he agreed, on visiting day, he sneakily "compensated" by buying "almost the whole supermarket." Jamila also found out that her stepdaughter makes calls to her father who sends her stuff and money during the term, even though she leaves home and is visited on visiting days with so much shopping. Jamila's husband had his daughter when he was a young man at the university, and for reasons unknown to Jamila, he did not want to have anything to do with his daughter's mother.

Jamila's stepdaughter now 14, moved into their home when she was 7. Jamila did not mind since she herself had been raised by a stepmother. The two times Jamila visited her stepdaughter in school, she sat, heavily pregnant, for over an hour waiting for the stepdaughter to come, despite having called and told her where she was seated. Her stepdaughter's mother, who had not even bothered to go and check on the girl's academic performance, was in the school too visiting her daughter. Jamila resolved to continue doing her part in raising her step daughter the best way she knows how: "I am doing my work since I have God to answer to…I don't mistreat her. The rest is up to her." Surprisingly, her stepdaughter's mother called once appreciating Jamila's care for her daughter: "thank you, you are doing a good job and treating my daughter well." Her husband reiterated this last year, affirming that while he has seen stepmothers mistreat their stepchildren, it had not happened in his house.

Faith was determined to take her children with her this time when she went abroad to pursue her PhD. She learned about the possibilities for scholarships at the training office where staff at Makerere University were eligible to apply for scholarships. She applied for a scholarship and although she was shortlisted, she did not get the funding that time round. She then returned to the training office to find out why she had not been awarded the scholarship. They explained that Common Wealth was most interested in practical rather than theoretical research. She resolved to change her focus to research on language policy, in preparation for a re-application the following academic year. It was shortly after this that she realized she was pregnant. As she walked on campus, telling herself to postpone her study plans in order to raise her baby first, she bumped into the coordinator of the training programs. He told her that Common Wealth had advertised, and that she should find time and go to his office to pick up the application forms. Although she agreed that she would pass by, she knew in her heart that she was not going to pick them up. However, when she told her friend Bonita about it, Bonita encouraged her to pick the forms, reasoning that if she did not pick them up that year, the coordinator might be sceptical about giving them to her the next time. Faith decided to pick them up and complete the application.

By the time she received the letter of award, her baby was 1 month old. She made some consultations and realized that a Common Wealth scholarship accepts to support the grantee and her immediate family. She processed the visas and off to London she went with her 5 year old daughter and a son who was by then 4 months old.

In London, she had thought she would live with her aunt for a while before finding her own place, but because the aunt was so rude to her, she resorted to taking up residence with a friend of a friend of a friend called Zoe. Faith and her children lived with Zoe who had 5 children and a husband. Zoe neither accepted contributions towards rent, bills nor food. After 2 months, Faith and the children moved into a small house owned by Zoe and her husband, which was now vacant. Zoe and Faith, as well as their children bonded and were happy until suddenly, Zoe became distant, and started avoiding Faith. Faith eventually managed to confront her when she had come to pick up the money for rent. Zoe admitted that she had heard rumours that Faith was having an affair with her husband. Faith denied this profusely expressing disappointment that Zoe could think so little of her. Zoe must have realized that they were baseless rumours. Nonetheless, her relationship with Faith had been fractured.

Faith struggled with child care for a while until she got a child minder, who eventually and abruptly left the job in the middle of the month—to Faith's relief in some way, as she had not been doing a good job: "always late and never taking good care of the children and really rude to them." She fell out with the child minder who demanded that Faith pay a full month's salary even if she had worked only for half the month. Faith eventually found a nursery, which took care of the baby for free, while her 5 year old went to school, giving her breathing space to study. She recalls how a doctoral talk had given her some strategies to identify and make the most of her most productive time. She realized that nights worked best because then the children were asleep: "when I put the kids to bed, my work session would then start—so I would work from 8:00 p.m. till morning." She would then wake and prepare the children for school, and then return and get some sleep.

Before the PhD, Faith had done her Masters in Norway where she stayed for a whole year. She had left her 4 months daughter with her mother. She missed her so much and was an emotional wreck: "It was tough for me—emotionally. I was a first time parent, and she was only 4 months. I missed her so much." By the time she returned from Norway, her daughter did not want anything to do with Faith: "she did not want anything to do with me. She did not know me and did not want to know me…because at the airport, I was with a friend of mine whom she allowed to carry her, but she did not allow me to carry her." Even when they got home, her daughter refused to eat or drink anything Faith made for her. Faith recollects a comment made by her aunt during one of those moments: "eh! Omwana wamuleka wo, kati ki

kyosubira?" (You left the child here, so what do you expect?). "I burst out crying (emphasis)" Faith narrated. "Omanyi okukaba nga gwe' babikidde?" (You know crying like someone mourning the death of a loved one). Faith explained that she cried so much because she was trying so hard and, because she knew that leaving her child was circumstantial rather than a desired choice. This experience gave her the resolve to go with them to UK when she got the award for her PhD.

Faith's story of coping with her children abroad as a student resonates with my experience as a mother of 3 in the U.S. when I did a postgraduate degree. While her struggles evoked a flood of memories. I focus on the most memorable. When the summer holiday came, Andrew had returned to Uganda to attend his brother Joseph's wedding. It was our first summer in the U.S. We had not registered the children for any summer programs because we did not know about them. I attended summer classes twice a week, and had a family friend, Lawrence, who came all the way from Queens to Manhattan to watch the kids for close to 4 hours each time. On this unfortunate day, Lawrence was engaged, and so were all the possible classmates who had helped me before. I was stuck. I went to the library with the children. The library at Teacher's College Columbia University, which was my school at the time, had a whole section for kids—with a teddy bear play section, children's books and computers on which children were allowed to sit and engage themselves. I had been to the library with my children innumerable times, and so they were familiar with the space. I took them to one of the small meeting rooms, giving them instructions to stay only in this room, and play on the computers. I went over to the reception and asked one of the ladies to watch them for a while, as I had a lecture, but would send someone to sit in. She hesitantly accepted. With a sigh of relief, I entered the lecturer room and got myself comfortable to attend class.

Hardly had I been there 10 minutes than 4 Teacher's College security men came to the door. One walked in and talked to the lecturer. I started parking my books, well aware it was I that was being looked for. I stepped out of the room and the head security personnel explained to me that leaving my children unattended was a federal offence in the United States. He walked with me downstairs towards the library. No sooner had I entered than I was met with all these judgmental, accusatory stares from different groups of women. Two officious-looking women approached me, and talked about something to do with children. My mind was preoccupied by the stares, and the possibility, as the security personnel had told me, that my children could be taken away and put into foster care. I walked on with this African American man, who stole an opportunity to whisper that I should take my children and get as far away from the library as quickly as I could, because there were women who had threatened to call Child Services. I took my oblivious children out of there. When I got to the apartment,

there was mail from my supervisor, my sponsors as well as the international office at Teacher's College! I panicked. I replied both the supervisor and sponsor reassuring them that my children and I were fine. However, I had to make an appointment with Samantha, the international office head, and John the head of security at Teachers College. It was a gruesome weekend as I worried about the impending Monday morning meeting. I met Samantha and John who talked to me about the legal implications of child neglect. I promised it would never happen again. Interestingly, when I bumped into the African American security guard who had saved me from the worst, he asked about my 5 year old Gail who had amused them so much. He told me that as soon as the security personnel entered the meeting room in which I had left the children, Gail had walked up to them, and glaring, she told them: "George is in charge!" By this Gail was trying to throw them out of the meeting, because in her mind, George (my 9 year old), had was in control. I missed class that day.

Like Professor Chia Longman, my promoter at Gent once told me, it is difficult to juggle the kids and the PhD, but also difficult to do the PhD without the kids—a conundrum indeed! In the U.K, as well as in Belgium where I am currently, I have engaged on my postgraduate studies without my husband or the children. They linger in my mind. Surrendering them to God has given me peace. When I was in the U.K, Gail a baby of less than a year, was travelling in the back seat, where she was seated with her nanny. Her grandparents sat at the front in the car. Her grandfather, who was driving, stopped the car and walked out to pick something probably from a shop. The nanny took this opportunity to sneak out of the car unbeknownst to Gail's grandmother who was seated at the front. When she returned, she pulled the door open, and Gail, who had crawled to the door, fell out with a bang, hitting her head! More recently, as the driver drove Joseph, my children's uncle and all my children back home from school, he tried to overtake a truck when he did not have right of way. The truck driver knocked the car which flipped full circle. The window shuttered and the glass fell inside the car, lightly bruising the children. The children told me they cried. Their uncle Joseph, who was in the car that day, had nightmares of blood in the car. I struggled. I struggled with the what-if questions. I struggled with the trauma of my babies—for not being there to hug away their fears. I struggled to start writing again. I struggled. In the end, I surrendered them to God.

Cherry's daughter a student of medicine at the university has done her proud. Emulating her father, Cherry took it upon herself to ensure her daughter's success, by teaching her as her own father had taught Cherry when she was in school. The opportunity to teach her son had not been possible. This is because Cherry got a job in Kampala and yet her children lived in Jinja at the time, where she then visited them mostly on weekends. She attributes her son's poor performance to her absence from

the home: “He is not a dull child but he missed my guidance…what I need to do is give him support, so that he gets into what he wants to do.” Indeed, as my own son struggles with school, I can’t help but think about my intervention as a missing piece in the works. While there are seductive post doc opportunities here in Belgium, a beautiful country which in many ways feels like an utopia, my priority lay in finishing this doctorate to return home and hold my son’s hand, as he runs to the finish line of his primary education.

The main struggle in Jenny’s personal life remains achieving the work-family balance. She explains that it is all about balancing: “planning, if it is a holiday, let it be that, unless there is a deadline—it’s about planning.” She adds however, that compromises have to be made too especially when there are deadlines. Her own family has had to accept such compromises given that they are one-offs. Also she learnt that it is the woman who makes a home—“when I am sad, so is the whole family and when I am happy, they all are happy.” As an adult, she has struggled with the constraint of time: “I hardly have time to do anything else—I am teaching, but there is research, children, husband—and so I hardly have time for myself to relax—there is always one thing after another—no time to just think about me.”

Overall, the women’s narratives in regard to working within academia—a pervasively male dominated space, suggest gendered struggles mainly in regard to childcare. The difficulty of combining motherhood with career has been documented among Western and non-Western women (Cooper, 2016; Danso, 2014; Jacques & Radke, 2012; Jensen, 2014; Liu, 2015). Jensen (2014) explains that the flexibility in academia, which is pervasively enjoyed within Ugandan academia is beginning to get threatened in the UK due to the demands of neoliberalism. Yet as well articulated by Jacques and Radtke, the “definition of ‘womanhood’ as being a mother or desiring to be a mother remains as powerful a force in women’s lives” (2012, p. 444) as shown in the women’s narratives. The gendered conflict and/or tension between career and motherhood, which implicitly privileges motherhood given the women’s struggles, works to inscribe women as “natural” nurturers and caregivers, polarizing these roles. While some of the women in my study found ways to juggle, others put their careers on hold in order to take care of their children. The women in my study as illuminated in chapter 6, created spaces to straddle both family and career, which are both important to them, as the former is constructed as a measure of achievement within the Ugandan society (Lovell, 2010; Muhanguzi et al., 2011).

4.3.10. It’s OK to Touch a Woman’s Boob

In this section, I focus on the women’s stories around sexual harassment both in their work places and retrospectively as girls in schools and in their homes. Some

of the stories are also about the experiences of the girls these women teach at the university as well as colleagues known to the women. The stories reveal that sexual abuse cuts across social hierarchical structures suggesting how gendered power relations are at the core in the sexualisation of women.

One of Brandy's biggest struggles with returning to Uganda is, as she puts it, "You will struggle with men consistently because first of all, we come from a society that thinks it is okay for you to touch a woman's boob." She has listened with horror to former classmates sharing their stories of sexual harassment, "and I keep thinking how the hell! By the way that is one of my biggest fears about moving back to Uganda." She recalls an incident when she had gone to visit Clare, a friend of hers who worked in Price Waterhouse at the time. In the elevator, they were joined by a man who stood there and stared directly at Brandy's chest, and then taking his eyes away, he said, "Hello girls." This man was wearing a suit, and was one of the bosses in Clare's office. Clare responded to the man's greeting. The man then asked Brandy, "Madam why are you not greeting me?" Brandy responded, "I had not figured out whether you were talking to my breasts or to me." Brandy had not experienced anything like this within office in South Africa. Sexuality she explained should be weaved into professionalism and organizational culture.

Brandy was appointed to her first board at about 27 years of age. Her study on aviation had focused on a strategy similar to what the members of the airline board were interested in implementing, which made Brandy a great addition to the board. They were involved in strategic planning for a regional airline with 57 small busy aircrafts. It involved a team with all sorts of competences. Ezra Wenyezi a Ugandan, was on this South African board as well. After each team member had introduced himself or herself, it was time to discuss subcommittee memberships. The CEO, a lady as well as Ezra wanted Brandy on their teams. In the end she chose to join Ezra's team. To this, Ezra responded stating with pride: "Good, in our committee we need beauty and good looking women to whet our appetites in the meeting." At this, the room went quiet, as Ezra received strange glances and stares from members of the board. It was then that Brandy recognized the difference between work culture in South Africa and Uganda, where such statements would have been extended to have a field day of laughter at Brandy's expense. The chairperson, speaking curtly, said, "Ezra we are in a work environment. I don't think I need to address you on issues of that nature." After the meeting, two men went over to Brandy and apologized on Ezra's behalf affirming, "We want you to know your reputation precedes you. We went through a lot to get you here. Your credentials blah blah blah so just ignore what Mr. Wenyezi said blah blab blah."

In coping at work, Brandy forged her own coping strategies. Working in male dominated spaces had taught her, in her words: "to be on your guard... read your boss long before he starts trying to hit on you…the guy who might potentially hit on you later, you have to learn the guy who will always have your back…you need to know who your fiends are, who is in your camp." Brandy affirms that damned is the woman, as most women have been, who does not build a network, interacting only with her boss, who many a time can turn out to be a predator. Such women, as Brandy narrates from experience, end up being isolated when the boss bails out on them**.** While women can look out for each other in these spaces, Brandy explains that they are usually dwarfed by greater number of males. As an executive member within the leadership of the organization, she has taken it upon herself to mentor the women. She particularly attends to Black women, "and I am not apologetic about it…because I think they have double-edged components to fight and those are the things that when you are teaching you…have to weave that into class." Talking about her part-time lecture position at the university, she explained that she always spares at least 10 minutes when she tells her students, "ok I am in the mood of ask-me-anything…most of their questions are really around gender, level of achievement, where you come from, you are black, what drives you." Brandy uses such opportunities to talk mainly to the girls so that they can have someone to relate with, explaining to them what it means to work within a male dominated space, and sensitizing men to appreciate the struggles of women in these spaces.

She usually slots in her own story embarrassing and uncomfortable as it sometimes makes her feel. It is the story about the boy in her university engineering class, who wrote on the blackboard each morning: "Brandy Semirya, I want to marry you … You look like this, your body is like this, you will be my wife, you will bear for me this number of children." The boy declared his love for her physical appearance and body, stating that she would be his wife and have his children. This went on for at least two weeks into her first semester, unbeknownst to Brandy because Barbara, a former Namagunga girl, and now a classmate in the engineering class, had always shielded Brandy from this by rubbing the blackboard as soon as she entered the classroom. Most of her classmates however, yearned to see Brandy's reaction and when she finally did see these statements on the blackboard, she resolved "that my best defence is public rejection…that is the one tool that I have continued to use, rejection … at my work place I am extremely clear."

In South Africa where she is currently employed, she has had to contend with the additional burden of blackness and the related prejudices. In the UK where she did her PhD, she was the only African in her class, raising brows questioning, "How did an African from Africa manage to come to Berkeley? doing a PhD in Engineering?"

This is when Brandy understood that there would always be some sort of prejudice and that gender and race remained the primary concerns for her. She explained that these two axes of discrimination were very important to her, and that she uses her experiences in regard to race and gender, in explaining to her students, who usually want to know how she has made it thus far, as a woman in the sciences. It is important as she explains, for students to have an insight into what it means to work, behave, conduct oneself and the prejudices around that especially in male dominated spaces. The policing of women, which Brandy adds is patriarchal, is an ever constant presence in Uganda where women are viewed as nothing but objects to satiate men's pleasure. The control and regulation of women is reflected in the scripted expectations of what a girl *should* be—"She needs to be nice, she needs to look good—they will judge where she comes from, who she talks to, is she friendly? Is she not? Is she a snob? Is she not?" The disturbing part is that such expectations are not tethered to males.

Sexually loaded statements made in a jocular mode literally asking female colleagues, "ompako di?"—translated "when will you give me some of that?" ring loud in interactions with male colleagues who many a time are our bosses but also colleagues and friends. Coupled with this are hugs too tight for comfort—caught up in such scenarios, I have questioned what is the best recourse. Bitte explains that some of her younger female colleagues have talked to her about these dilemmas—of men, some of them married, hitting on them. In a terse tone, she criticized such men for "assuming that all women are loose and whether they are married they can accept to go with you." Bitte has not experienced this type of sexual advances throughout her career. She affirms with firmness, "It cannot happen!" (to her). The best way to navigate this behaviour Bitte explains is to "keep off. Just confront it…you are a mature person; the man is a mature person. Just tell that person and if this person insists then…get a third person and usually when it gets to a third person they shy away; they never do it again."

Faith finds it annoying that people hardly engage women in intelligent conversations or opportunities: "they talk to you about sexual things like 'ompako di?' 'nkutwalako out?', 'wabula kanzije nkwetwalire'", directly translated "when will you give me some (sex)?", "when can I take you out (on a date)? "Let me come and take you for myself." She decries the idea that men reduce women to sexual objects and nothing more. She recollects her experience in going to Sweden with three male colleagues. She explained that the whole time they were in Sweden, the men made so many sexual jokes in regard to her stating, "Ani asoka?" "ani adako?"(laughs)—meaning, "who will go first (to have sex with Faith, who will be next?). She explained that even her own boss shows sexual interest in her, touching her and following her round the office whenever she has to meet him. When you look at Ugandan comedy,

Faith explains, it is built on sexual jokes about women—"abakazi aba ganda bakaba bwebati" (Baganda women moan like this (imitation) during sex). She decries how everybody uncritically watches and laughs at the demeaning jokes. Such jokes are usually staged by men, who wear gomesiz (traditional women's clothes) and imitate women. She recollects how Fagil Monday, an education consultant in Uganda, criticized educated women for entertaining this comedy where "the men ridicule and make us talk like stupid people—so the whole society is laughing at us."

Biru is critical that she has not received any education in regard to sexuality or how to navigate it within the workplace. One of the challenges for her has been how to respond to unwanted sexual innuendos from close colleagues. She is reminded of one "very touchy-touchy" colleague as she described him. He sat next to her during the moderation of an exam, and the next thing she felt was: "his hard hands on my thighs, and you don't know whether to blast him. You are also very aware of people's reactions if you did blast him, like they might call you immature and so on, at the same time you want to keep the collegiality but you do not want the advances."

In scheming to get a share of their ageing father's property, Dina's stepsister took her in, so that their father would think she was a good person. Dina and her cousins, had to kneel down to greet her sister's husband, an older Muganda man, as required by their culture. Her sister's husband scratched the middle of her palm (an expression of sexual desire for a woman), every time she greeted him. Eventually, he picked up the habit of leaving his bedroom early in the morning as Dina prepared breakfast, to come to the kitchen, where he sexually touched her body. She wanted to scream each time: "I could not even scream. It was hard." The last straw was when her sister, an administrator with the Ministry of Education, was assigned to work for a couple of days outside the city. When her sister's husband returned, he had his dinner and when the maid went to her quarters which were outside the main house, her drank sister's husband came and knocked at her door demanding that she open it. Dina ignored him. The following day, Dina told her elder brother about it. He gave her money for rent, making it possible for her to move out of her sister's home. When Dina told her sister that she had moved out, the sister thought she was moving in with a boyfriend, eliciting a lot of backlash against Dina, yet as she explains: "I was running away from her husband." He continued calling her, and sending money after Dina had left their home. It remained a family secret, and Dina was cautioned never to tell her mother or sister because the latter would never have believed her. Her sister's husband, over 65 years old, has continued to pursue her even today. Dina's troubles, as she explains "were not in my parent's home—they started when I moved out of their home into the care of my sister who they thought would protect me."

Dina, no longer a stranger to sexual harassment, had another memorable encounter when she was first recruited as a tutorial fellow at the university. She joined the university as a tutorial assistant at 23 years. She was the youngest in the entire faculty as she exclaimed. Although so many older men tried to proposition her, they failed because Dina was a Saved Christian. Also, the head of department, a nun at the time, deliberately assigned Dina to share an office with an elderly woman. These women both knew the politics within the department, and warned her not to date the men therein because they were all married. These women also stuck with Dina most of the time. As fate would have it, one of their colleagues, an older man called Kivenge, with a reputation for sexually harassing his students, entered their office where he found Dina alone. Dina had known Mr. Kivenge before she joined the university as a member of staff. She had respected him as a parent because his daughter had been her classmate. Finding her alone in the office, Mr. Kivenge picked up her keys from the table, locked the door, and started touching her sexually. Although she fought him off, she could not scream because "he was an adult and, I was overwhelmed and shocked." When he was done fondling her, he calmly walked out of the office as if nothing had happened. Dina immediately went to the head of the department to whom she narrated what had happened. The case was documented and Mr. Kivenge cautioned about it. Dina never worked in the office alone again unless her officemate was around, choosing to stay in her car until the proverbial coast was clear, lest she bumped into Mr. Kivenge.

Jenny has not experienced sexual harassment throughout her career as a lecturer at the university. She explains however, that at campus, "in most cases it comes about by the way girls also carry themselves." Some girls she explains, come to class in very short clothes, and sit on high stools right in front of the lecturer. She questions, "So in this case who is harassing who?" She adds nonetheless, that there are some abusive men who take advantage of women regardless of decency, explaining however, "If you dress properly and respect yourself then chances of sexual advances are reduced". Like Jenny, Carol did not experience any form of sexual abuse during her time as a teacher at Gayaza High School. The Christian foundation of the school meant that teachers and students had to be very careful about allegations of sexuality. At the university however, Carol had heard of allegations of sexual harassment, especially against a lecturer of psychology. I was also privy to these allegations, having heard that when a girl failed an exam or coursework, this lecturer told her to return on an appointed day with a condom. Carol concurred that she had heard about this but also affirmed that this specific lecturer had taught her, and had been a great lecturer. She commented that girls are careless and need to do their work to avoid such entanglements.

In reiterating Dina's narrative about the conduct of their male colleagues at the university, Faith explains that indeed, male lecturers in universities have taken sexual harassment to another level. Faith knows a lecturer who has been reported so many times by his female students for sexual harassment. However, he has gotten away with it because the administrators, to whom the girls have reported, are male. They have continued covering up for him, saying, "the man was trying to kwetasa, and then they say they should tell him so that akendeze ko", translated: "The man was trying to relieve his sexual desire, and should be talked to reduce this practice." The lecturer in question has sexual relations with girls in his office on weekends. Faith as such is concerned that girls, as she explains, are falling prey to their lecturers who abuse their power. She has taken time off during her lecturers to talk to girls about this. She explains that many of them rush into pregnancy in order to "hook" men. In having a number of sessions in which she has addressed girls about these issues, some of the girls, have responded to her advice asserting: "but supposing the man likes me and is going to pay my tuition, how can I reject him? If he wants a baby, why won't I give it to him?" Now that Faith is away on her post-doctoral program, she has received information from one of her students stating, "madam, batandiise da okuzimba embuto", to suggest that the girls have already started ballooning in pregnancy. She problematizes the idea that too much emphasis is put on the importance of marriage for girls, and yet no pressure is exercised over boys.

Brenda recounts a story in which a student on campus had allegedly failed an exam in one of her courses. Unconvinced that she could have failed this paper, the girl, who had been a good student throughout her program, approached the lecturer to discuss this. When she met the lecturer concerned, he assured her, asserting "bwotompa, be assured you will never pass this paper." This suggested that the girl would only "pass" the exam if she gave in sexually to the lecturer. She eventually told her parents, who hired a private detective to access the phone conversations between their daughter and her lecturer. The girl then agreed to meet the lecturer who suggested they meet in a hotel, which he had probably used a couple of times with other girls, as the hotel staff knew him. When she checked into the hotel room, he was already waiting. She quickly excused herself to change in the bathroom. The detective, who had been privy to all of this, burst in, finding the lecturer stark naked. The story made the headlines in many newspapers and tabloids. Brenda has never seen this lecturer at the university again. In another recollection, a lecturer attempted to rape a female student in his office. This happened after a late evening lecture when he asked her to follow him to his office. When the girl entered the office, the lecturer locked the door and tried to force himself on her. The girl screamed as loudly as she

could, attracting attention. This lecturer as Brenda explained, is no longer a lecturer at campus, but is very highly placed in a petroleum company.

As a nun, Sr. Lucretia was no stranger to men's sexual advances. She narrates one incident during her postgraduate degree classes at Makerere University. She was in a class of 5 students, whom the lecturer put her in charge of. He asked her amongst other responsibilities, to pick up a copy of the keys to the library in time before each lesson, as this was the venue for their classes. She remembers an incident when the lecturer gave her the wrong key. As she tried to open the door a couple of times in vain, he came to the door, and standing right behind her, he tried to rub himself against her. Using the right key, he opened the door, and when they entered, he kept coming closer. She found herself circling the table, with him on her heel, as she tried to avoid his advances. When she got close enough to the door, she reached for it and scampered out of the lecturer's office.

In talking about the conversations on her primary school classmates' what's app groups, Jamila explains one of her classmates' recollections of a teacher who asked her for "some" (sex) whenever he got the opportunity. Apparently as Jamila explained, "the beautiful girls who had blossomed were favoured and not caned ... one of those girls is now telling us…a certain teacher asked her for sex…he was always asking for some all the time. And she was a really beautiful girl, pretty face, and hips coming out." This raised concerns for Jamila, as both her daughter and stepdaughter have blossomed beyond their age. The girl whom the teacher asked for sex, told the others that she always run away from the teacher when she saw him approach her. As a rejoinder, Bitte makes mention of the "bring books to my home" narrative commonly employed by teachers to lure girls into their houses, raping and/or defiling them. She recounts a story about a girl in her own school who dropped out after getting pregnant through sexual relations with one of her teachers. During that time as Bitte explains however, the law on defilement and sexuality in Uganda was weak, but has been strengthened and provisions made to bring criminals to book. Nonetheless, in some schools, sexual crimes are covered up and teachers transferred to other schools, risking a recurrence of sexual abuse. Tino also recounts a similar narrative: "Yes, I can think of those stories of teachers who told girls to go take books to their homes for marking and I would hear stories about such relationships, although nobody ever got caught—sometimes these situations are hidden with the teacher transferred to another school or the girl expelled."

This is a reminder of my own experience as a student in a primary catholic single sex boarding school in Uganda. The twelve-year olds in my class were so taken up with Mr. Mukobe, a new young, handsome social studies teacher with an "American" accent! Whatever he said or wrote down or looked at was interpreted and

reinterpreted in ways that took it different directions. When he wrote *My lass!* in my best friend's social studies book for example, dictionaries were taken from under the dust and cobwebs to find out what exactly he had meant! A most interesting encounter with Mr. Mukobe came two days before we completed primary school. As we excitedly went about our evening schedule, somebody noticed that Namugga was missing. It had been rumoured that she was one of the girls Mr. Mukobe fancied. Word soon got round that he and Namugga were in a classroom at the far end of the school. In a frenzy, we ran down to the classroom in a mob. When we got there, one of the students flung the door open, and alas! There stood Mr. Mukobe attempting to wear his pants frantically. Namugga on the other hand, only had her petticoat on, which she had pulled up to cover her breasts. She then stood transfixed, shivering, looking utterly shocked. She held onto her slippers (I wonder why), and remained silent, as if in fear and perplexity. I cannot recollect how Mr. Mukobe, Namugga and the mob ended up at the headmaster's house, but we did. We reported the incident to our headmaster at the time. While Mr. Mukobe is currently a headmaster in a primary school in Uganda, I have no idea what happened to Namugga after this incident.

Overall, men's pervasive privileged positions produced power relations, which in my study "legitimated" sexual abuse. Looking across the women's narratives are experiences in which men higher up the social hierarchy than the women, deployed their institutional power to sexually abuse women lower than them in the hierarchy. The abuse of women sexually within homes, schools and work places which is prevalent in Uganda (Muhanguzi et al., 2011), I would argue, is systemic and/or structural. Indeed, men dominate the chain of command, taking up judge and jury positions in spaces where there should be women too, to handle sexual grievances. Consequently, men have largely gotten away with sexual offences, getting protection, promotions or transfers to other spaces—shielding them as revealed in the women's narratives. This sexual vulnerability is predicated upon unequal gender relations and the preservation of gender hierarchy as observed by feminist research in Africa (Arnfred, 2004; Mirembe & Davies, 2001; Tamale, 2003). In some cases, it is the victims who get shamed and expelled from the school as the narratives reveal. The cultural privileging of men suggests that women even those at men's level institutionally, are always already lower than them within the socio-cultural hierarchy. This explains why sexual power is deployed to abuse female colleagues, including those higher than the men within the institutional hierarchy. Indeed the boundaries of institutional security for women were unsettled in the study, when a male lecturer made sexual advances at Sr. Lucretia, a nun in his masters class. The assumption that women who are nuns are institutionally protected and marked as "out of reach" was troubled and/turned on its head, as was the familiar narrative that veiling oneself

and/or dressing decently would deter men. In an extensive review of literature on sexual harassment, Mclaughlin, Uggen and Blackstone conclude that "power, at work and in the broader society pervades accounts of harassment in all these literatures"(2012, p. 625). This I would add, is not unique to non-Western contexts. Yet the women in my study were not beaten down by these dire circumstances. Rather, as expounded in Chapter 6, they found different agentic scripts, navigating these realities by repudiating their sexualisation.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter has focused on gendered lived experiences of 18 Ugandan female teacher educators who teach at the university. Using life story, the women provided insights into how each makes sense of their experiences, illuminating their diverse, idiosyncratic and complicated trajectories in the journey to becoming women. Thye provided snapshots into their navigation of gendered spaces within homes, schools, and workspaces. While the women are constructed largely through discourses of educated career women, they are also produced within traditional discourses as nurtures and caregivers. This analysis as such, which illuminates complexities and nuances in the women's realities supports critiques of a universal one dimensional victim feminine subject. Looking across the women's narratives nonetheless, accentuates the feminist maxim that the personal is political (Oksala, 2014; Stone-Mediatore, 1998), given that what might have been thought of as individual realities—as discreetly Western *or* non-Western realities have been illuminated as social issues that require political engagements for women both in the global South and North. As such, the feminist tradition "of claiming the personal as also political, and building between women shared and new meanings of (and engagements with) experience, bridges elements of the individual/collective divide" (Reed, 2008, p. 81).

While I push against the pervasive discourse that produces women as victims, my study does not tidy-up by using celebratory narratives to produce the women as subjects who conquered the gender regimes within their societal relations. Rather, I illuminate the messiness in their continued struggle as power shifts bouncing the women sometimes simultaneously, between positions of powerfulness and powerlessness. This nonetheless, disturbed the pervasive construction of women as inherently unitary victimized and powerless subjects. Indeed, Bloom (1998) argues, "women's life-stories challenge the traditional notion of unified subjectivity in that they express the 'individual tensions and contradictions that necessarily exist as a result of the different ways each woman identifies herself in socially situated ways" (p. 144, as cited in Longman, 2008). The individual tensions and contradictions within

the women's realities accentuated the idea of survival, agency and resistance to gendered arrangements, which is the focus of chapter 6.

Chapter 5
Gendered Discourses Cited in Female Teacher Educators' Embodied Experiences

5.1. Introduction

This chapter takes up gendered discourses which informed the female teacher educator's narratives recounted in the previous chapter. It sets the stage for Chapter 6 in which I focus on the women's agency in resisting the gender order networked through dominant discourses illuminated in this chapter. It is critical to examine the discursive conditions within which subjects cultivate capacities of ethical action and/or agency. This is because resistance acquires its meaning within particular ethical and political conditions and/or discourses (St. Pierre, 2000). Discourse is articulately conceptualized by Youdell as "bodies of knowledge that are taken as 'truth' and through which we see the world" (Youdell, 2006, p. 35). Gender role discourses for example, point girls into roles as nurturers and boys as providers producing such roles as natural and/or self-evident, constituting emotional, nurturing femininities and rational, aggressive masculinities respectively. As such, Foucault (1972) describes discourses as systems of thought that simultaneously construct subjects as well as the social environments of which they speak . Discourses therefore set out, and/or shape what it means to be male and/or female within particular contexts, as if it were natural and/or self-evident (Butler, 2003; Wolgemuth, 2014). The reiteration of discursive practices and/or norms then serves to consolidate particular regimes of discourse/power (Butler, 2003; Davies, 1989; Davies, 2003), as illuminated in this chapter.

Taking the narratives and/or stories from Chapter 4 as my entry point, I read each of them, identifying the socially and communally constructed understandings about masculinity and femininity and/or gendered discourses within the Ugandan context. I get to these understandings by identifying recurrent lexical traces as well as

relations, which echo those in other texts or genres (Sunderland, 2004). These comprise discourses and/or knowledge(s) about gender that are reproduced, circulate through society, and are recognizable within particular contexts. I demonstrate that the women's stories about their gendered lived experiences are informed by specific discourses and/or what is held true about gender within their context. Such discourses undergird the norms taken up (and/or disrupted) in specific contexts. Identifying the discourses cited in the female teacher educators' embodied gendered experiences is important for this work because it provides insights into the gender norms within the Ugandan society. The ways in which women negotiate these discourses and/or norms then informs Chapter 6, in which I illuminate agency through how the women take up these norms, disrupting the victim narrative used pervasively to construct women in the global South (Mahmood, 2005; Mohanty, 2003; Spivak, 1988).

By examining the women's stories, I identified the presence of particular discourses through cues and/or traces. I then named and discussed their workings in positioning male and female in particular ways. I also indicated the relationship between discourses, showing whether a discourse is for instance, dominant or marginal, thus suggesting its social and political significance. I also illuminated the ways in which the discourses specifically subject position and/or constitute women and girls (and men and boys), showing the particular gendered ways in which male and female are represented and/or expected to behave (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Paechter, 2007).

Through this analysis of the female teacher educators' stories, I interpretively identified seven dominant gendered discourses: A discourse of male and/or masculinity as superior, science as masculine, *munju muno tewali muwala, tewali mulenzi* and/or a gender roles discourse, women as nurturers, father figure as icon in the home, marriage as very important to women and women as sexual objects. I arrived at these, as did Hollway, "through a combination of my own knowledge and what was suggested by the data" (2014, p. 272). Like Sunderland, my entry point into identifying "a discourse is to see the discourse provisionally as a way of seeing the world" (Sunderland, 2004, p. 28), reflected through the ways in which people talk about it. While I organize each section of the findings under dominant and/or overarching gendered discourses, I recognize as did Jaworski and Coupland that "*most* texts are not 'pure' reflections of single discourses" (1999, p. 9, as cited in Sunderland, 2004, p. 29). As such, I also highlighted marginal and/or ephemeral discourses within the texts showing that discourses are indeed "linked, related, *networked* as constituting an order of discourse" (Sunderland, 2004, p. 31). It is to these discourses I turn, first identifying each discourse, explaining it, describing how data pertaining to it was generated (Sunderland, 2004) from the narratives of the

female teacher educators' gendered lived experiences, and then discussing it by situating it in relevant literature. The penultimate section discusses the discourses with a focus on how they are networked to inscribe a specific gender order and gendered subjectivities. The chapter ends with a section on concluding remarks, in which I recap the key findings therein.

5.2. Science as Masculine

This discourse, which constructs science as male and/or masculine is enacted through the underrepresentation of women and/or girls within science disciplines within the female teacher educators' experiences. Brandy's engineering class had only 9 girls out of 75 students: "We were 75 in our class altogether and we were 9 girls…We started off as 10 and then one got pregnant in first year." Liz explained that she got used to the idea of male dominance in terms of numbers, within her science classes: "In undergraduate, we were 9 girls out of 50 students." Gloria's A 'level class had 5 girls out of 56 students. Likewise, Jamila's mathematics class at the university had about 90 boys and 10 girls.

In terms of performance, Brenda explained that girls generally did better in arts subjects and boys in the sciences. Gloria also corroborates the high achievement of boys in the sciences as compared to girls, given the construction of sciences as too "hard." Indeed, Gloria, a lecturer of physics asserted that she made it to the sciences because she excelled. Linguistic traces from the female science teacher educators' narratives such as "excelling", "good grades", "performed better", "hard" illuminate the high stakes associated with gate keeping within male dominated and/or masculine science spaces. Such spaces, constructed as superior are then highly sought after, and espoused, as are males who partake of them in larger numbers than females. This might account for the high status attached to the sciences, which Gloria illuminates by describing how she feels about being a part of this male dominated field: "You feel proud—you feel superior (laughing). When you tell people you are teaching physics, they think you are smart. And when they know you teach it at the university, they are even more amazed." Gloria also highlights the pride that parents feel when their children take on science subjects: "They were proud—parents generally like to encourage their students to try sciences." Linguistic traces such as "superior", "proud", "smart", "amazed" evoked by science bring to light the power imbued in these spaces, and the powerlessness of less sought-after female and/feminine disciplines like teaching at lower levels, marked as a woman's job.

The discourse of boys as superior and/or more intelligent than girls, evoked in constructing science as too hard for women, is cited by teachers who pervasively

discourage girls from taking on careers within the sciences. Fida explains teachers' attempts to deter her from specializing in the sciences: "you won't manage because you are a girl…Girls do not pass those subjects…you are just trying to fight the boys…But you cannot make it." By persisting in the pursuit of science subjects against the grain, Fida was accused of wanting to be like a man: "Aahh why do you want be a man? you behave like a man blah blah." Indeed, because the idea that science is masculine is so engrained, Brandy recalls entering an engineering road project site with other male classmates, only for one of the chief engineers to address her stating: "we have enough secretaries, what are you doing here?" Likewise, Cherry, a mathematics teacher explained that when she taught adults, she always got the sense that they doubted her competence because she is a woman: "when they realize they will be trained by a lady, they wonder what a lady could possibly teach them." Indeed most of the women in sciences explained that most of their teachers had been male, which might explain why Cherry's students questioned the possibility of her competence as a female science teacher educator.

The predominance of males within science disciplines is reproduced at the work place. Liz for example, asserts: "during industrial training in my 2nd and 3rd year, I was the only girl in the company…when I started working, I was the only woman in the company for 2 years before they recruited 2 others." Tino, a lecturer within the sciences, explains that she was recruited partly because there was only one woman in her department at that time: "You see, the department to which I belong, had only one female, and so when I applied for a position, I had an added advantage." Drawing on equal opportunities discourses, Tino was hired to create an equilibrium in the department. Equal opportunities discourses were also drawn upon in the recruitment of Gloria a female lecturer of physics. She explained that before she and another female colleague joined the department, "there was only one woman in the department—a professor, and so that is why they thought to bring us on board." While equal opportunities discourses have attended to the invisibility of women in some spaces, I would argue that they also put to question the real ability of women, who are seemingly accorded opportunities based on gender/sex, rather than competence, re-inscribing the discourse of male as more intelligent, thereby necessitating a lowering of the bar in order to accommodate women.

Further, Liz, a mechanical engineer within the oil and gas industry, explains that within the professional team, she was the only woman. While one woman later joined the male technical team, she was eventually moved to the administration section:

> she came in as a trainee…but I guess because that field work involves a lot of going up country…and some form of lifting…she always had to go with a man,

> and in the end, she was withdrawn from the field and brought into the office to deal with data entry, reporting, and handling computerized maintenance systems…The company had only three ladies—the secretary, the data entry clerk

Citing a discourse of female physical inadequacy (Francis, 1998) and a discourse of male physical power by inference, Liz explains that the female technician was moved from the technical site which required manual work in terms of driving and lifting heavy weights to a female dominated administrative section. These discourses are also drawn on by Tino, explaining how women are encumbered in male dominated spaces like science, which are constructed as necessitating physical strength: "sometimes when you go to the field to collect samples—so because I am in the forestry sector now…you have to go deep in the forest, sometimes you are scared animals can chase you." Tino explains that as such, there is a tendency to allocate most assignments to men rather than women.

The underrepresentation of women within sciences, evident within the Ugandan context (Muhwezi, 2003; Nakkazi, 2011; Namatende-Sakwa & Longman, 2013), is also pervasive within research, both theoretically by feminist philosophers of science (Harding, 1986; Harding, 1991; Henwood, 1998; Hughes, 2001; Keller, 1992; Kelly, 1985) and empirically by researchers within education (Elgar, 2004; Gonsalves, 2010; Ong, 2005; Sanders, 2000; Taylor, 1979; Weinereich-Haste, 1986). Some of the studies have demonstrated that science is not only dominated by men, but is also rife on a symbolic level with masculine subtexts, which have foreclosed possibilities of entry for many women. Harding proposed a shift from lack of women in a supposedly gender neutral science, to the epistemology of science itself—in what Harding (1986) refers to as a shift from "the woman question in science to the science question in feminism." In so doing, Harding unsettles discourses which cast women as deficient and/or less intelligent, emphasizing the interrogation of masculine ideologies inherent in the sciences. This notwithstanding, the construction of science as male and/masculine serves to polarize male and female, and is implicated in re-inscribing hierarchical gender relations, which are also implicated in gender roles discourses.

5.3. Male and/or Masculine as Superior

This discourse echoes the valorisation of male and/or masculine ways of being, such as male objectivity and/or intelligence as well as male physical strength, suggesting hierarchical gender relations. The discourse is cited when most of the female teacher educators express their pride in working at the university rather than in

secondary schools. Universities as well as higher echelons of academia have traditionally been associated with men, while women have dominated the lower levels of schooling (Bagilhole, 2002; Benshop & Brouns, 2003). Jose for example describes the feeling of joining this male dominated space with its associated privileges such as less pressure and more autonomy: "Well while we have a lot of uhmm pressure in secondary school, at university level basically we do the supervision ourselves." Biru adds that the "the money is better, and you also have an upper hand in making choices about what you teach." This is reiterated by Sr. Lucretia, affirming: "I like it…I get paid more than 6 times my former salary, as a secondary school teacher…Also I like the independence—that I can choose the content and method of delivery in what I teach."

Teaching in Uganda, a female dominated profession, carries associations of poverty and powerlessness, with teachers produced as the butt of jokes for both students and their parents. Teaching at the university, a male dominated highly sought-after space is juxtaposed with teaching at lower levels which are female dominated. Lexical items such as "empowering", "achievement", "my dream" "happy", "proud", prestigious", "your own boss", "upper hand", "independence", "paid more" vis-à-vis lexical items like "policing", "pressure" were used to describe experiences of teacher educators at the university and of teachers within the secondary school respectively, suggesting the valorisation of the former over the latter. The idea of valorising male and/or masculinity has the effect of constructing the female and/or feminine as inferior and/or less valuable which might explain why teaching as lower level is no longer considered a respectable job as it was when it was traditionally dominated by men. Indeed research demonstrates that female and/or feminine ways of being/knowing are devalued in most cultures (Kuzmic, 2000) and are therefore, *not* highly sought after and/or aspired for. As such, the women in my study aspire to teach at the university which being a male dominated space collocates higher pay, status, respect, and more autonomy.

The espousal of male and/or masculinity over female and/or femininity collocates ideas of male as more intelligent, rational, objective—qualities to which we *should* aspire, and which are valued even at universities. The discourse of male as more intelligent which stems from the overarching male as superior, is cited for example when Biru recounts her experience as a student in Budo a mixed school: "academically, I have to accept that the boys were good." Cherry also confessed getting a lot of help from boys within the science class, whom she recognizes were very smart: "yes, the boys were very smart and they got it quickly." This is corroborated by Carol who explains how much she had to rely on boys in her science class to help her understand concepts: "we found that we really needed these

boys…they picked up concepts faster than the girls so we just had to stick to them." Jamila reiterates this affirming: "Again the boys were brighter than us. I hate to admit that but it was true…the boys were smarter, more focused, and put in more effort." Linguistic traces used to describe boys such as "good", "very smart", "got it quickly", "picked up faster", "brighter", "more focused" work to espouse male over female. They also evoke discourses of women as in-need-of-men and as thus vulnerable in that sense, through lexical phrases such as "we really needed the boys", "we just had to stick to them."

Yet, discourses casting male as more intelligent have been dispelled by feminist scholars (Connell, 2008; Eliot, 2010; Walkerdine, 1989). In challenging such discourses, Lisa Eliot, a neuroscientist who has analysed gender differences in children's brains, attests that although "boys and girls differ in many ways— in physical activity…reading…math… interests…most of these differences are nowhere near as large …nor are they as 'hardwired' as current discourse portrays" (2010, p. 32). Citing recent studies, she argues that in fact there is more overlap between average males' and females' brains than differences. This notwithstanding, the discourse of male as more intelligent continues to circulate and is implicated in and/or is mutually supportive of the valorisation of sciences, considered male and/or masculine over arts and/or feminine subjects as articulated in the women's narratives.

5.4. Mu Nju Muno Temuli Mulenzi, Temuli Muwala

This discourse directly translated from Luganda, in-this-house-there-is-neither-boy-nor-girl was pervasively cited by some of the women's mothers. It illuminates their commitment to ungendered work allocation in their homes—as such dismissing gender distinctions in regard to household chores. Cherry for example affirmed: "My mother is a Muganda—you know what that means—mu nju muno temuli muwala, temuli mulenzi, in that even the boys would go to the kitchen." Cherry explained that both her brothers and sisters made bricks to construct some of the buildings in their home. They all planted and harvested food from their family garden every Friday. Citing an equal opportunities discourse, Cherry also affirmed that: "They (her parents) trained us to work, also helping us realize that whatever the girls can do, so can the boys." She recollects how as a young girl, she regularly wheeled 100kgs of simsim from the market, up the hill to their home. Both her parents used their machines to make simsim paste which her mother sold in the bank where she worked, and her father at his workplace in the National Curriculum Development Center. The discourse, which blurs traditional gender roles, was also enacted in Professor Musta's home where she had eight female siblings. She quotes her father as having said: "God

has given me girls and girls have to do everything in this family. I am not going to borrow boys from neighbours so you have to learn to ride a bicycle, learn to carry luggage." Professor Musta and her sisters took on both traditionally masculine and feminine roles in their home.

The pervasive discourse notwithstanding, there were slippages in role allocation within the women's narratives, suggesting a reproduction of a traditional gender roles discourse. It is interesting that most of the women described the role allocation within their homes as "shared"—in the sense that both men and women participated in roles not traditionally relegated to them. In looking closely however, I realized that while the women described the roles as shared, there was always a "but" looming, such that "roles were-shared-but-not-quite." Brenda for example explained that her sisters and brother participated in all the domestic roles *but* when it came to chopping of larger trees for firewood, it is the brother who did that role. Fida affirmed that her brothers cooked too, *but* when it came to matoke, this was exclusively for the girls to cook. This shows the idea of boundary maintenance (Davies, 2003)—that there seems to be limits to the idea of crossing gender boundaries. Cherry for example described how much her siblings shared in all the roles. *But*, the roles she described are traditionally masculine roles like building, carrying heavy loads. Cherry and her sisters had indeed crossed gender boundaries in taking on these male tasks, *but* I wonder whether her brothers went all the way in doing female and/or feminine tasks. As Sunderland has articulately argued, "girls can cross gender boundaries with impunity, whereas boys cannot" (2000, p. 168 as cited in Johansson & Malmsjo, 2009, p. 18). This might be linked to the power associated with maleness, and the corresponding powerlessness attributed to the female and/or feminine. Gender boundaries for males are therefore policed more aggressively, and crossing them more punitive because it risks emasculating the men. Crossing gender boundaries to perform male and/or masculine roles is perceived of as "empowering", and as such applauded and/or rewarded. Yet, transgressive acts for women have limits, and might be shunned upon if they threaten dominant gendered distributions of power. This is illuminated through backlash on female body building as expressed in the "how much muscle is too much muscle" feminist debates within the practices of body building (Paechter, 2001). It is also expressed through discourses of female leaders as too bitchy and/or overly bossy and/or the stereotypical questioning of women's ability to do the job (Hultin, 2003; Williams, 1992).

Indeed, the limits to blurring gender roles are illuminated in a marriage counselling session conducted by Jenny at her church. While Jenny cites equal opportunities discourses, admitting that male and female are equal, and can partake of the same gender roles, she makes some disclaimers:

> OK, it is good to be equal, but there is a couple who came to us for counselling. The woman complained that the man no longer cooks for her as he promised. The man said he had no problem cooking but that they had a full house of people in the house…The husband did not mind cooking if it was just the two of them…I think equality has limits—it is about equal opportunities, but not everything.

While the man was willing to cook for his wife, in that sense taking on a traditionally feminine role, it was belittling for him to do this in public. This "shame" embodied in partaking in a feminine role in public, works to maintain gender boundaries, in which male and female bodies stick to their lanes.

This notwithstanding, Dina's father a gynaecologist pushed against these boundaries, cooking his own food, washing and cleaning up while also attending to the traditional masculine role as provider. Jose's father, a head teacher in an affluent school, also raised his children as a single dad—taking on traditionally female roles with impunity. It is interesting that these men's masculinity was not threatened despite taking on what Connell (1995) has referred to as "emphasized feminine" roles. This might be because their hegemonic masculine attributes overshadowed their feminine roles, leaving their masculinity and male*ness* intact and/or unchallenged. These men, who had both separated with their wives "slipped" into the feminine roles given that there was a "vacancy." Further, Brenda's brother also attended to both masculine and feminine roles, stepping into girls' "shoes" so to speak, because both girls were in boarding school at the time. This also played out in homes where there was a single sex. Musta and her sisters for example, took on all traditionally masculine and feminine roles in the home, since in Musta's father's words, they "could not borrow boys." Further, Musta's father, arguing that he would not eat chicken and fish alone given that he was the only male in the house, also subverted cultural norms, letting his daughters eat chicken and fish, which in their community were eaten by males alone. This earned them the reputation and repudiation for "wanting to be men." Further still, while Liz and her sisters did all the roles—cooking, fetching water, chopping wood, she is quick to add that she did not have any brothers at the time, in this sense necessitating that the girls taken on traditional masculine roles, which they might have otherwise left to the males: "my mum has 5 girls, truthfully, I never grew up with boys in our home, so we basically cooked, gardened, fetchedwater." The gender roles discourses and associated practices are as such shored up by discourses of gender difference which create the conditions for gendered role allocation.

The gender roles discourse, which is unsettled in some instances, remains a stubborn and/or enduring discourse. It informs discourses such as "the man as head of the family" and "the man as breadwinner", which stick out in the women's narratives. While Fida's father was a teacher, her mother was a stay-home mum who also did

farming. Her father's income was invested in "tangible" spaces—paying school fees, while the mothers' "invisible" labour, which worked the gardens, "supplemented" the father's income by providing the food. This scenario prevalent with most of the women such as Professor Musta, Carol, Gloria and Bitte, might explain why fathers were espoused and mothers' roles taken for granted within the women's narratives. This gave the man so much power, which was exercised on their wives with such harshness that some of the women stood up to their fathers to protect their mothers. As Walkerdine explains, "the confining of women to quasi-domestic, while discursively powerful, remains a site of economic dependence" which as she explains, "is not without effects" (1990, p. 14), given the men's treatment of their wives within this realm.

Some of the women's mothers nevertheless, were in positions of power in terms of their status as professionals whose contribution to the home was recognized by their daughters—not just as a "supplement" to the father's income. Faith's mother was a teacher, and when she left her alcoholic husband, she fended for the family as a single mother for a while—albeit with much financial struggle. Cherry's mother a retired banker worked hand in hand with her husband, a teacher, to put "bread" on the table. They currently run an education consultant jointly. Tino's mother took on her father's businesses when he passed on, running the family as a single mother for a while before she too passed on. Brandy's mother is a medical doctor and her father a dentist. It is interesting however, that Brandy says that while it is her mother who handed her the money, she always knew that it is her father who made the decision on what she got—her father whose peace in the house was never disturbed. Dina's mother was a matron in charge of nurses at the hospital and her late father was a gynaecologist. Dina's parents separated before she was born, and her mother managed her home, as her father did the same for his home. My father, a rich man when I was younger, was an agricultural economist who managed coffee production and distribution in Jinja district in Uganda. Mum on the other hand was a banker. She managed her own home, and bought my school requirements, while dad paid the school fees. These positions of powerful*ness* were inhabited by the women's mothers within public rather than private spaces, accentuating a marginal discourse of mothers as providers.

As the women's stories demonstrate, the discourse of gendered division of labour is tangled up with ideas about "a good" wife (and a "good" husband), as imagined in the Ugandan society (Muhanguzi, 2011; Muhanguzi et al., 2011). Notions of a good wife were produced from the parents' expectations and preparation of their daughters (and sons). Emphasis for most girls was on learning household chores such as cooking and cleaning up, which have traditionally been marked as women's work.

As Tino explains, the allocation of roles in her family was informed by the idea that girls would grow to become wives: "Yes, as girls, hygiene and cooking were emphasized—the boys would play as much as they liked because nothing would change when they grew up and got married, but we the girls had to do more domestic chores." Similarly, Dina's father, seeing that his daughter had not mastered wifely chores, sent her to live with her stepsister where she learnt it all. While Jamila's brothers were exonerated from housework and allowed to play as much as they desired, the girls had to work harder, attending to domestic chores in preparation for their role as nurturers. When it came to visiting days however, the girls received more pampering while the boys had to figure out how to survive in boarding school on scarce resources. This has associations to "hardening" the boys for their future roles as providers and protectors. As well articulated by Connell, "Boys…are taught the importance of appearing hard and dominant—whether they like it or not. At school and in the media boys are steered towards competitive sports, and are often put under heavy peer pressure to show their toughness" (2008, p. 3). Brenda also explains that although her siblings shared in these roles, her mother and grandmother emphasized that it was more important for the girls as women, to learn to do household chores. She also adds that her brother, a perfectionist, is probably still a bachelor because he can do all the roles in the home. This suggests that the need for a wife is bound up with the gendered roles attached to femaleness. As such, the gendered division of roles creates conditions for heterosexual marriages. The gender discreteness of roles works to re-inscribe discourses that cast women into traditional roles of as mothers and/or nurturers, which was pervasively drawn upon within the women's narratives.

5.5. Women-as-nurturers

The discourse of women-as-nurturers echoes women's "natural" calling as mothers, which is deployed and enacted in the women's stories. Jose for example, in explaining her struggles around leaving her family to go to South Africa for her PhD, she asserts: "But of course as mother you have this bond. I am really scared…the children, especially my youngest…he is sickly…I am worried that in my absence, he will struggle?" Biru also explains her bodily reaction on leaving her children to pursue her PhD: "I used to get anxiety every time I had to return to the UK leaving my children. There would be weeks when I could not sleep, and if I did sleep, I would have nightmares and talk in my sleep." Jenny's experience of the natural bond and/or "motherly love" as she calls it, reiterates the other women's struggles in leaving her child: "He was one year and 8 months…but by the time I came back, he did not even want to look at me. I think he knew me but had the hatred of 'why did you leave me

here alone?'…and then I had to make a new bond altogether…It is not easy…you are always thinking about this kid." This idea of a natural bond, which also draws on a pervasive discourse of women as emotional is also cited by Faith in explaining how she felt when she returned after a year to reconnect with her daughter:

> Faith: It was tough for me—emotionally. I was a first time parent, and she was only 4 months. I missed her so much…I went away for a full year…By the time I returned, she was a whole lot bigger…It was me she did not want to know, because at the airport, I was with a friend of mine, whom she allowed to carry her, but she did not allow me to carry her. And even at home she would literally refuse to take the tea that I had made.

The rejection from the child, which Faith talks about was experienced by Jenny as well as I when I returned from the UK having left my 2.5 months old Gail. The women's emotionally charged narratives signal the natural-ness of mother-child bond and the struggle of both mother and child on their separation. Such narratives, which re-inscribe women's traditional role as nurturers also serve to cast women in the hearth and home, by polarizing private and public spaces, making it difficult for women to take up opportunities outside the home—against the grain of their "natural" role as mothers. The discourse also works by throwing into doubt the category of the working and/career mother as ideal for the child.

Sacrificial motherhood as a discourse is then produced through the struggles of women in straddling both career and motherhood/family obligations. Faith vowed for example, that after having left her daughter in Uganda when she left for Norway to do her postgraduate degree, that she would not take on any scholarship and/or assignment which would necessitate she leave her children again. Tino, a PhD student in Austria, had to find ways of spending more time in Uganda than her scholarship would normally have accepted, falling back, in order to spend more time with her child:

> Tino: Yes I left her— she was 2.5 years—the first few months felt really bad. For the first few weeks I would call every day, and when I returned after 8 months, she could not recognize me…I stayed here 8 months in the guise of doing field research. I definitely collected some samples and did some extractions—but you definitely get more work done when away from the family.

Jose, a PhD student has had discussions with her professor so that she can be considered for a sandwich rather than a full time program. This will make it possible for her to oscillate between home in Uganda and school in South Africa, providing more opportunities to spend time with her children. The oscillation between home and school as her professor explained, will certainly compromise her research progress. This resounded my experience on a sandwich PhD program, given the paucity of work

done during the duration away from the university. Carol, a part time teacher educator within the physics department recalls how she took off seven years from work to stay at home and care for her children. While she feels ready to pursue further education now that the children are older, she wants to ensure that her admission coincides with her first child's admission to a university abroad. In sacrificing her career to care for her children, Carol produces herself through discourses of intensive and/or good mother discourses (Jacques & Radke, 2012). The natural calling of motherhood stands in opposition to marginal discourses that endorse mothers as career women. The category and/or discourse of the "working mother", I would argue, emerges within this tension.

This discourse is cited in women's struggles to juggle family and career. Faith for example explains that her Masters and PhD degrees took much longer than anticipated because she had a family by that time: "I got married and faced some of the hurdles of having a family and studying at the same time. I remember it took me quite some time." She is reminded of the myriad of times her children got sick just when she had an appointment with her supervisor. At some point her supervisor questioned this "convenient" sickness of Fida's children: "why is it that whenever we make an appointment is when your children fall sick?" Tino also spoke to this affirming: "I think males will never take a day off but for us if the child is sick, we have to take a few days off to mind them. You can't be comfortable at work when the child is sick." Jamila also expressed frustration at having to juggle school and work, and the emotional toll it has had on both her and her children: "But sometimes I feel I am not giving my children enough time…you come home too tired to do anything then weekends you have class. Last weekend I missed class. I took my daughter out for a day…He (her son) is only two years. But he misses me. He cries when I go."

Jose, like most working mothers, has had to rely on nannies, usually women—referred to as "maids" and/or "house-helps" in the Ugandan context. Jamila recalls her struggle to manage her workplace and the home when her house-help decided to leave without ample notice. She was only saved by the closure of the university for elections, because it meant her sister—yet another woman, could help her baby-sit for a while: "Otherwise I didn't know what I was going to do because my boss is in the village campaigning for his father. Usually when I have no maid I take a week of my leave but now we both could not be away." Jamila also explains the struggles of managing house-helps, which is a constant struggle, and conversation among Ugandan women. Her current house-help has found a better paying job after working only a month at Jamila's. She now has to find another one at short notice. Jamila like the other mothers is also weary that her children spend most of their time with the house-help rather than with her. She explains that she endeavours to treat her house-

helps like family: “I try treat the housemaid like family, I don’t separate plates, food, they also sit in the sitting room and watch TV with us… my kids respect them, when they are sick I treat them, when they want anything I give them.” Jamila complains however, that they eventually start to take her for granted: “They kneel and greet my husband and yet they don’t greet me. I don’t mind, if they say salaam aleikum that is enough…but she is always admiring my clothes, wears tight pants. But I tell her to cover-up when my husband is around…But now she also wants to leave. The stability of the house help with the kid is something I need.”

Citing a discourse of women-be-ware-women (Sunderland, 2004), which signals the lack of solidarity between women in patriarchal societies, Jamila illuminates a dominant narrative within the Ugandan context, of house-helps as having affairs with the women’s husbands. House-helps are as such cast as necessary evils on whom working mothers must rely to manage their homes while these mothers attend to their careers. Yet, these house-helps are also a threat to destabilizing the very home and/or women who hire them to help with managing the home. Working mothers are weary that these women have designs to oust them by tantalizing their husbands, which is why Jamila encouraged hers to cover-up when her husband is around. This indexes the discourse of male sexual drive, exonerating men from taking responsibility for their advances on women who “ask” for it through their seductive dressing. Also signalled is the discourse of marriage as very important for women. This is suggested in the imagined desire of house-helps to “steal” husbands, as well as by Jamila’s attempt to protect her marriage by regulating her house-help’s dressing, so that her husband is not seduced into sexual affairs. Working mothers as such, must face this tension between straddling home and career. Although this is changing both in Western and non-Western contexts, academia has been structured around the traditional scholar (i.e. male) who is always available for work and does not have caring obligations of working mothers. Indeed the comparable phrase “working-fathers” is absent within mainstream discourse given the “naturalness” of fathers and work. Yet “working-mother” as a discourse risks the listing as an oxymoron, given the tenacity of traditional gender roles discourses which serve to polarize roles, casting women only as nurturers in the home.

Further still, in re-inscribing the role of women as nurturers, Jose’s father’s friends encouraged him to remarry after his wife left him with three young children. They tried to convince him that he needed a wife to mother his children: “Those kids are young, they need a mother.” Jose’s father responded to his friends affirming, “No they don’t need a mom, I am here.” Jose’s father refused to remarry. Citing a discourse of wicked-stepmother, he later explained to Jose and her siblings, when they were older, why he had not remarried: “It’s not like I did not want to get married after

your mom had left but this is how I saw it…Usually when women come into a setting like this they tend to disorganize the whole system…I did not want you to suffer". The idea of a stepmother within the Ugandan context, conjures up images of suffering and mistreatment of children. It is discursively linked to discourses of women as wicked, and intertextually linked to widely circulating childhood stories in Ugandan elementary schools such as *Rapunzel, Snow White, Cinderella,* in which there were wicked stepmothers. In these same fairy tales are discourses in which men are constructed as saviours and/or protectors who rescue the vulnerable girls from the wicked stepmothers and/witches in their lives. Such discourses work to espouse men while denigrating women.

This discourse is also cited in Jamila's narrative about her relationship with her stepdaughter. Jamila has tried to do her best to raise her stepdaughter into a responsible woman: "That is a real messy girl. You come and find she has stuck dirty sanitary towels under the bed…I tell her you are going to grow up to be a woman why are you being so dirty? Can't you just be clean? Bathe? put pads away? I don't scold her; I just talk to her." Jamila however, can feel the distance between them—an insinuation that the stepdaughter reads Jamila's concern as mistreatment: "But you know raising step kids is hard…she has that distance I can see it. I try to treat her like my own daughter because my stepmom raised me fine so I try to raise her that way." When Jamila's stepdaughter first moved in, her mother called constantly to check if she had been taken care of—bathed, eaten—as if to suggest Jamila, a stepmother could have been mistreating her stepdaughter. Jamila talked to her stepdaughter's mother, explaining that because an amazing stepmother had raised her, she would raise her stepdaughter like her own. In disrupting the wicked stepmother narrative, Jamila constructed herself as a good stepmother—an oxymoron in the Ugandan context. She explained to me that she had done her best with her stepdaughter: "I am doing my work since I have God to answer to…I don't mistreat her. The rest is up to her…whatever she wants I give her." Jamila explains she was raised in a polygamous home where the wives treated all children well: "we had two stepmoms; we got along well but between them I know they did not really…one was always talking about the other." Both Jamila's stepdaughter's mother as well as her husband who later on recognized that Jamila had done a great job with her stepdaughter, unlike other families where stepchildren are mistreated, took up the good stepmother discourse, appreciating Jamila's efforts.

Pervasive within these narratives is a dominant discourse of women as "natural" nurturers who step in, in different capacities—as aunts, house-helps, sisters, mothers, stepmothers—to care for children—also suggesting a discourse of children as needing their mothers. The pervasive construction of women as mothers has been

problematized (Butler, 1992; Foulds, 2014; Paechter, 2007). Depicting women primarily as mothers can be attributed to the idea that women spend more time with children given their roles in the homes as well as their duties as teachers in schools, both sites in which students generally spend a big chunk of their time. What is disturbing about this construction is that women's role as mothers is almost always pitted against their other engagements and/or identities (Foulds, 2014) as if to suggest that *all* women are necessarily mothers. As Butler affirms, "surely all women are not mothers; some cannot be, some are too young or too old to be, some choose not to be, and for some who are mothers, that is not necessarily the rallying point of their politicization in feminism" (1992, p. 15). This image of women as always already nurturers can be juxtaposed and reinforced through images of men participating politically in ways that do not pit one identity against another (Foulds, 2014). As such, Foulds affirms that "While women's political engagement is still subtly tied to their role as mothers, men do not have the same responsibilities" (2014, p. 666). Yet the ideal of mother at home and father as breadwinner evoked here, is elusive given economic necessity. Indeed, even in the West, this ideal remains elusive as working class mothers have always combined childcare and work (Chesley, 2011; Deutsch & Saxon, 1998). This notwithstanding, the women within this study, as expounded in Chapter 6, found ways of straddling both motherhood and career.

5.6. Father-Figure as Icon in the Home

It is interesting that while women's place is in the home which they have to keep together, it is the father's role which was valorised. The majority of the female teacher educators draw on the discourse of father-figure as icon in the home, which emphasizes the invaluable role of fathers in shaping children. Fida, a dean in a physics department for example, cites a discourse of father figure as icon in the home, when she elaborates the ways in which her father was supportive of her education:

> I think the encouragement I got from my father…even if he was a literature teacher…the mathematics of secondary school he was the one who actually taught me…He would always say "You can make it". In fact, when you look at our family we are all educated but I think it is mainly because of my father.

Jose's motivation to take on teaching, a profession she has grown to love was her father, who encouraged her to become a teacher, and, who had been a teacher himself. He was her role model: "I had seen my dad. The way he would coach us during holidays—the way he would carry himself around, the respect he got from the community… So I got to love the profession really." When Jose finished her

undergraduate degree, her father is the one who encouraged her to pursue her postgraduate degree promising to pay her tuition after her confession that she did not have the money. This draws on a dominant discourse of father as provider, which is also taken up by Biru, explaining the influential role of her father when she was a student: "my father was very influential in my academics…he ensured that school fees was paid by the first day of school."

It was the father's obligation as provider to ensure school fees was paid for the children. Indeed as explained in the narratives about hiccups of schooling in Chapter 4, the girls who had concerns with school fees always attributed it to the loss of a job by their father. Gloria for example explains: "we used to get sent back home for non-payment because we are a big number—our father was not able to raise the school fees in time." Liz, whose father could not pay school fees for his polygamous family also recounts this narrative: "my father did not have enough money to educate all of us, but my uncles did." When I was sent home for non-payment of school fees, it was my father who provided the money for me to return to school and pay the fees.

Yet, this discourse of father as provider is unsettled by Faith a single mother, who has fended for her children, building their home and taking them to good schools. Surprised by Faith's success as a single mother, one woman in her neighbourhood addressed her wondering how "mukazi bukazi…omukazi n'avuga emmotoka ensajja?" to mean (how can just a mere woman drive a masculine/expensive car?) Faith also recalls people in her neighbourhood questioning which man had invested in her home construction project: "ani amuteka mu sente?" One of her neighbours in a conversation also affirmed: "oli mukazi bukazi naye abaana bo they go to good schools", to mean "you are just a woman but your children go to good schools." The woman continually repeated the phrase "mukazi bukazi" (just a mere woman), expressing surprise that a woman can independently achieve so much. This narrative draws on the discourse of men as providers. This discourse also informed the comments Faith has received complementing her for looking good, and then quickly asking to know which man had invested in her appearance. Faith spoke back at some point asserting: "Me, an adult who goes to work every day? How dare you ask me about who invests their cash in me? You mean my own cash would not make me look good? Does it have to be a man's cash to make me look good?"

Further, in talking about her experience as a child, Faith draws on the marginal discourse of mother as provider and/or bread earner. Given that her father was an alcoholic, Faith's mother unable to take it anymore, had moved to Kampala, the capital city with her 7 children. She took care of them on a meagre primary teachers' salary. Faith described their financial woes: "It was really tough…I remember times when we would stay home for about a month when other students were in session—

for lack of school fees. We would not have uniform…sometimes you did not have shoes and would have to walk barefooted to school."

Fida, as a mother who has provided school fees and livelihood for her two sons also reiterates this marginal discourse. She also takes care of her late brother's son, as well as her late sister's three children—paying their tuition and providing for their needs. Additionally, Fida is also currently building her retirement home in the village. Further, Cherry whose husband does not have a job provides for the family, paying school fees and attending to the family needs, and even giving her husband some money for his personal upkeep: "I send money, pay up all the bills. I remember a few days ago, I dropped him off and found unpaid bills, which I paid. Two days after that he called to tell me he'd lost some people in the village and needed money." Further still, Professor Musta had to remit money to her parents' home when she worked abroad, in order to take care of her siblings and her parents. She eventually took on two of her siblings who moved to Zambia with her. Dina, a single mother, has provided for her son on her own, and her future plans include: "putting a roof over our heads." Yet this discourse of mother as provider is muted within discourses that valorise the role of fathers as *the* icons in the home.

Indeed, the women in my study attributed their success to their fathers, and only with my prompting were they reminded to explain their mothers' contribution. Fida, for example, in talking about her ordeal as a pregnant teenager, elaborated the role of her father in comforting and encouraging her to continue with school as well as taking on Fida's daughter whom he raised as his own. The lexical presence and emphasis on the word "father" is illuminated against the lexical absence of the word "mother". Fida specifically mentioned her father's role, referring to him using masculine nouns and pronouns such as "father" "he". However, she only referenced her mother's role using the collective words like "parents" and "they":

> Fida: I had my daughter in March. So…I remember **my father**. He said "Are you willing to go and study?" I said "Yes" so **he** said "if **I** could bring you up to this age **I** can bring up this girl"…So you can see the role **my father** played (gets emotional) excuse me…so **he** looked after us…you can see that encouragement…I think with the support of **my father** of course…I could see that **he** was also going through … as **my parents**…And when the exams were through **he** said you can go to the university of course. When I was admitted it was boarding…**he** said "don't worry I am going to take care (of Fida' baby)" and **they** took care.

In talking about her academic work, Fida acknowledges that her father sat down with her siblings, explaining hard concepts to them: "Because my father… if something was difficult he would sit with me…My mother was also educated…a nurse, but…she gave it up that to look after us. So for her she was most of the time at

home. The academic person was my father." In juxtaposing her father and mother's roles in her academic growth, Fida illuminates her father's role, while glossing over the mother's role as nurturer, albeit mentioning that she had sacrificed her career to mind the home. It is in retrospect that she can see the invaluable contribution of her mother in complementing the role of the father:

> But later on I realized because of my mother being a full time house wife, we had gardens, she kept cows... all vegetables, matoke we got from the garden and we grew things like cotton so we would go and sell…My father was more of a school teacher. Later on I learned that…she was subsiding a lot the family income…the salary would remain at school as school fees

This valorisation of the father figure, implicated in the denigration of the mother is reproduced in the way Liz narrates her school trajectory: "I went to Gayaza Junior…the best decision I think my **parents** made. **My father** was friends with the headmistress, and encouraged **him** to bring me to the school…**He** took me for the interview." Liz uses masculine nouns and pronouns—"father", "he", "him", illuminating the invaluable and active role of her father in getting her into this affluent school. The mother's role however, is cited using the collective noun "parents", overshadowing her role. Brandy, an aviation engineer and teacher educator, reiterates this narrative, pitting her father against her mother in explaining her motivation for making it as a successful woman:

> my mother always worries—encourages I use my brilliance in a way that keeps norms in society. But with my father there are no limitations…He learnt very quickly that I was a child whose horizon … was much farther than he could ever have imagined…he could recognize ambition.

Brandy shows that while her father encouraged her to sour to great heights, her mother inhibited her in some ways. Carol also juxtaposes her parents' roles, showing the valuable role of her father in propelling her forward: "**my dad** always believed in me and I did not want to let him down…it is **my dad** who encouraged me**. My mom** also used to but it was more of **my dad**." The valorisation of the father's role is also reproduced in Professor Musta's narrative explaining her trajectory towards becoming the first female dean and professor in Uganda: "I think my upbringing. I told you briefly about my **Dad's** confidence…I grew up knowing that there is nothing I cannot do…So never think about yourself just as a woman because it is not that only men are achievers." The father's role is also valorised in Sr. Lucretia's narrative about school: "**My father** always paid the school fees." Sr. Lucretia, on my prompting about her mother's role, explained that her mother was illiterate and, remained at home to brew Waragi and/or local brew: "I do not know if it contributed to my school fees, because

it was always **my father** who gave me the school fees…**He** took me to school, also **he** is the one who took me to town to make measurements for making my school uniform. **He** is the one I gave my report card."

The valorisation of the father's role notwithstanding, Cherry's narrative in regard to becoming a mathematician illuminated a marginal discourse in which mothers are produced as role models. This notwithstanding, she emphasized the invaluable role of her father, who is responsible for the high achievement of Cherry and her siblings.

> **daddy** is highly educated…he did his bachelor degree in education in Canada. **Mummy** is also a retired banker…I remember falling behind in my work and deteriorating…**My father** started working with me... It was such a turning point …that I made it to Namagunga. Even in Namagunga, when things got difficult, I used to take note of them and wait for the holiday for **dad**…**He** himself taught my siblings and I. We have all turned out well, with architects, engineers, statisticians…**he** played a big role…I wanted to be a banker because of **mummy**. I used to go to the tills and see what **she** did and I really admired **her**…**my parents** saw to it that we got everything we needed. Except, I missed **dad** when **he** went abroad, because then I did not have anyone to talk to about my mathematics…Also **my parents** provided lots of books.

Tino also foregrounds the role of her mother in her career growth: "My mum—she was like 'I want you to be a doctor', and I was like, 'don't worry. I will make it.' …My father had passed on by then." Interestingly, while the role of the mother is given prominence here, Tino also explains that her father had died by then. The role of the mother is made visible in this case I would argue because of the absence of the father.

Within a dominant discourse of father-figure as icon in the home was a marginal discourse producing fathers as nurturers. Jose explains for example, that a single father raised her when their mother left. Jose's father took up female and/or feminine roles, taking the children to hospital and also school. Nonetheless, Jose, citing a hybrid discourse of children as needing their mothers, and/or mother as nurturer, yearned for her mother:

> Sometimes I would miss my mother and I would cry and cry. As a kid growing up, my dad was there so much but then as a girl growing up, I think I needed a mother figure. There are things you would want to discuss with your mom…The first time you get your periods you think you are dying but you cannot rush to your dad. There are some things you want as a girl and he says "Go away!" He made us wear school uniform on our first holy communion…the other children were dressed to kill…I got my first communion in tears! In tears!

The natural calling of women as mothers, nurturers, which indexes a gender roles discourse, suggests that women understand children's needs in ways men cannot. Jose explains how saddened she was when for her first holy communion, she had to wear uniform. Her father, being a man, could not understand the fact that she needed to "dress to kill" like the rest of her classmates (who dressed to kill, assumedly because they had mothers).

Jose intimated that there were stages in her life when she felt her father was confused about raising girls. At such times, he brought his friends who were women to come and talk to his daughters. Jose affirmed that the "gap" as she called it, and/or absence of her mother was glaring and that she felt it. She added that she feels this even to date: "And I feel it to this day when I am struggling with my children and maids and wonder where can I take my children? You cannot dump your children at your father's." Jose also explains that while her father was there for her even as an adult faced with a cheating husband, she missed her mother at times like this: "And that is when the lack of a mother hit me hard … because yes I love my father but then you cannot go and tell him that my husband is cheating but with mother I would have gone straight and cried my heart out."

As Jose's narrative above illuminates, a discourse of children as needing their mothers was reproduced in conditions when men enacted the role as nurturers. Biru for example explains, her son's performance deteriorated in her absence:

> my older son started performing poorly when I was not here and everybody started saying that may be if I was here he would perform better…My son became stubborn, dirty, started coming home really late…I remember a friend of mine encouraging me to take him abroad with me. Everyone was blaming me.

Cherry's absence when she found a job outside her home town also affected her son's school performance: "He is not a dull child but he missed my guidance. The sister was with me a lot more…I used to sit and teach her, and she excelled. She is now doing a medical degree at the university. The boy did not do well at S.4 because I was not with him." Further, when I had to return to Belgium to continue with my research, my daughter Gabriella, awoke in the middle of the night and holding me tight, she persuaded me: "mummy, please do not go, there are universities here, you can complete from here." My son George always cries inconsolably each time I have had to return to Belgium. Indeed, the last time I returned, the class teachers, especially George's and Gail's, recognized that their performance improved, and that they exuded more joy.

The discourse of children as needing their mothers works to reify the discourse of women as *the* natural nurturers given that the husbands only temporarily took on

the nurturer role in the absence of their wives. Further, the wives remained unsettled when the husbands take on "their" roles as demonstrated through the women's restlessness when the children were not in their own care. The discourse of children as needing their mothers also unsettles the pervasive discourse of father figure as icon and/or silver bullet in the home, given how much the home seemingly remains wanting in the mother's absence. The construction of fathers within the women's narratives largely echoes Marshall's account in which the father is positioned as "responsible for the most positive aspects of childcare and the mother for the maintenance work" (1991 as cited in Sunderland, 2004, p. 103). As a mother, I would argue the role of fathers in children's upbringing on the whole is overstated, while the mother's role, as well articulated by Lazar "is taken for granted as part of their maternal 'nature' and therefore, as something quite unremarkable" (2002, p. 123 as cited in Sunderland, 2004, p. 104).

Linked to the discourse of father figure is a discourse of father as head of the home. This discourse produces the father as a powerful, authoritative, and dominating persona/figure in the home. The authority of the father-figure as absolute is reflected in the ways in which Jose's father, for example, on separating with their mother, cut off all communication between the children and their mother, to the extent that when she died, they only got to know after 6 months. As an absolute authority, the father figure's peace and space had to be respected as in Brandy's home: "I saw how my father, I saw how he was more privileged… his peace was never touched." A father figure could be polygamous as Liz gives insights into her home: "My dad was polygamous in a way, having children alternately with different mothers. In fact there is a time all three mothers stayed in the same house." This pervasive discourse within the Ugandan context works to build a hierarchy within the home, bestowing supreme power to the father to control and regulate his family. This power is threatened when the wife takes on positions such as a better paying job, and/or the pursuit of a PhD, which could threaten hierarchy in the home. This informs the tales of damnation in chapter 4, as the women's struggles in career progression. Discourses of men as superior and/or head of the house, inform the ways in which women have to "dim" their light in order to maintain the social hierarchy in which men wield more power. This as I argue in Chapter 6 is one of the ways in which women deploy power to partake of both academia and also keep their marriages within a context in which marriage is positioned as very important for women.

5.7. Marriage as Very Important for Women

This pervasive discourse constructs marriage as very important for women above all else. It is undergirded by compulsory heterosexuality (Rich, 1980) as well as the heterosexual matrix (Butler, 2003; Butler, 1990) which maintains gender, identity and sexuality within a heterosexual framework, legitimizing the coupling of male and female. During one interview, Jose for example, expressed her fear (and her father's concern), that working and confinement as a matron in a single-sex girls' school might deny her the opportunity to get married: "I used to live at the extreme end of the dormitory…I realized that what my dad was saying was true and I was worried I could remain a spinster for life." The lexical trace "spinster", which carries echoes of "failure" for women as I explain later on in this section, is modified in Jose's statement with the phrase "for life", casting the idea of an unmarried woman as an unsalvageable life sentence which collocates linguistic traces of sadness, emptiness, loneliness, incompleteness. The word "bachelor" within the Ugandan context on the other hand, carries connotations of pomp and sought-after-ness.

The doom and gloom associated with spinsters informed Biru's decision to reject a scholarship lest her husband who was her fiancé at the time, got whisked away by another woman: "the first opportunity that came my way was to go to the US, but I told myself that I was not leaving my husband behind. I just did not even look at the opportunity." The discourse of marriage as very important for women is re-inscribed when Biru, away at a prestigious university in the UK to pursue her PhD, almost dropped out of the course when she discovered that her husband was dating another woman: "My graduate tutor talked me through the stress of the marriage. She also encouraged me to see a counsellor, which I did." Further, as Jose now married aspires to start on her PhD in South Africa, of grave concern is the risk it poses to her marriage: "I want to do something in emerging technologies…South Africa may be an option. But then I am thinking I married and have very little children who need me…What will happen to my marriage?"

Citing a sub-discourse of women as the ones who keep the home/marriage together, she implies that her physical absence from her husband is likely to work to destroy the marriage. This is reiterated by Biru explaining that when she was leaving for the PhD, of greatest concern was the disintegration of her marriage: "How can you leave a man?" "When you come back and he has moved on, I don't even want to hear you complaining." The assumption is that a wife has to stay at home to take care of her children and husband, which is why most of my respondents' greatest threat from society was the fear that their husbands would be "stolen" by other women.

The discursive absence and/or silencing of lexical traces in regard to cheating wife and/or stolen wife within discourses that produce men as the only stealable ones, works to render cheating for women as unimaginable and/or unintelligible, while at the same time, normalizing it for men, and, casting the responsibility on women to ensure their husband's fidelity—in their role of keeping the home and/or marriage together. This informs the ways in which sex education is emphasized for young girls and/or women before marriage. Most of the women explain their experiences in regard to labia elongation and the pain encountered in partaking of this practice, which would prepare them to sexually gratify their husbands. A missing discourse within this discursive field is sexual preparation of men to sexually satisfy their wives.

Also illuminated was the discursive silencing around sexuality as prevalent in Uganda (Tamale, 2011). Jenny for example, explained that because her aunt could not bring herself to talk about "pulling", she sent Jenny to the village, where she learnt from her peers through observation, rather than verbal engagement. Biru on the other hand explained that while her aunt pulled her from the bathroom, her brothers of about the same age, who did not go through any initiation, wondered what was happening. When Biru eventually returned to school after the holiday, she realized that most girls whispered about this practice: "all the girls were whispering about it. It looks like it had been done to them." In Brenda's experience, her grandmother is the one who talked to her about pulling because as Brenda affirms: "I know my mum couldn't do it." Brenda narrates that her grandmother beat about the bush—first talking about school, before finding the courage to talk to Brenda about pulling: "You know there are some **things** you have to do as a woman. She asked me if I had done **it.** I told I had done **it** at school." Brenda's grandma had used abstract words like "things" and "it" to refer to pulling, failing to explicitly state it. Brenda's mother, who could not bring herself to talk about pulling, took the opportunity to check a very ill Brenda whom she was giving a bath, to ascertain if she had pulled. According to Brenda, her mother, who saw that she had pulled, was so relieved. Further, Dina explains that her mother did not talk about sexuality beyond warning her about HIV because one of Dina's elder sisters had contracted it and died as a result: "No, there was never any such preparation. Except, I have a sister who passed on because of HIV. My mother was so distraught. She told me that when you sleep with a man, you can get HIV—that is all she ever told me." The discursive absence of sex preparation for boys works to illuminate the expectations on girls to unequivocally appease their husband's sexual desires in marriage, given their role to keep their marriages together—an obligation to which men are not subjected.

Societal discourses such as “omusajja taba w’omu” (a man is not meant for one woman), which circulate in Uganda, work to allow unfaithfulness and/or polygamy for men, while also pitting women against each other as they compete to “hook” men. This works to reproduce women as hating and/or jealous/weary of each other. When Cherry’s husband for example cheated and had children with other women, one of the women confronted Cherry provoking her by referring to herself as a co-wife: “one of the women had the audacity of calling me, telling me she is the second wife to my husband and that they have a child. It hit me. It hit me so hard.” Jamila also recalls the phone call she received from another woman on the night after her wedding, spitefully assuring Jamila : “We are Moslems, we are co-wives!” The discourse is also referenced when Jose talks about her fiancé (currently her husband)’s ex-girlfriend, a rich girl who, in Jose’s words, “was pumping money in him money” in order to “steal” him. Indeed Jose explains that even when her fiancé eventually married her, “ I did not even enjoy my wedding much because I was worried this girl would show up and cause a scene.” Further, Dina sharing a similar experience, explains that when she found out her boyfriend had been cheating on her while she was abroad, she called to confront him. It is the woman he was cheating with, who picked up the phone and provoking Dina affirmed: “we shall see who will win!” Faith also describes how her relationship with Zoe, which was shattered on suspicion that Faith had had a sexual affair with Zoe’s husband. Zoe, a married woman in London, had embraced Faith and her children, hosting them in her house for some time, before Faith could find an apartment. The woman-be-ware-woman discourse as such, works to pit women against other women in their bid to secure marriage for themselves.

The discourse of sticking in even when the marriage is not working out is a pervasive marriage discourse directed at women, re-inscribing the discourses which require women to keep the home together. Women as such, are expected to stick through practices like infidelity, which is expected of men and not women. Indeed Jose’s father reasoned that in Buganda, polygamy was acceptable, but his main complaint was that his son-in-law’s infidelity had risked his daughter’s life. Jose’s husband’s friends also admitted that they all cheated on their wives: “all of us cheat but we do not put our families in danger.” Jose explains the pains and “messiness” as she calls it, of sticking in. She talks about her struggles with forgiveness and trust: “I am trying to find the space…The trust is broken…I need to forgive to forget but I need time to heal.” This “peaceful” approach works avert the sceptre of a failed marriage which is equated to failure of the woman. In averting this label and/or discourse, women “stick in”. Lexical phrases such as “stick in”, “let it be”, “stay for the children”, “working on my marriage” as cited in the women’s narratives about marriage, produce marriage as very important for them. The discourse of staying in

marriage for the sake of the children is a pervasive marriage discourse referenced by Biru for example, when she decides to stay with her husband after she finds out about his sexual affair: "I decided to stay because I did not want to destabilize my children."

Such narratives stand in opposition to pervasive marriage-as-a-bed-of-roses discourse. This discourse, implicated in they-lived-happily-ever-after and intertextually linked to fairy tale endings in a myriad of stories written for girls such as *Snow White, Cinderella, Rapunzel*, is disrupted in some of the women's lived experiences as married women. When Cherry got married, she had envisaged a happy marriage like she had witnessed in her parent's home: "You know, my mother and father love each other so much…So when I was getting into marriage life, I thought I was getting a model of a father for a husband, but I was disappointed. " Fida, who like Cherry had envisaged a happy marriage like her parents', also recounts her disillusionment: "I got married… I don't call it divorce but we separated…I was looking for a husband who would be to his wife like my father was…a husband should respect his wife." Further, in reflecting on her life as a married woman, Jamila produces her marriage as lonely and unhappy:

> My friends somehow disappeared unfortunately the person you want to bond with is always out there and you are left alone with the kid…you want that person to acknowledge you and appreciate you but it is not happening...out there making money…He only has time for you when he has to appear for family events to show that he is always there…you struggle thinking that it is your fault…I want a divorce…He is always moody…I want companionship

Jamila illuminates the emotional turmoil therein—the loneliness as her husband is more invested in making money than spending time with her. Ironically, he constructs himself as good husband, by showing up to spend time with his family during public events, only to distance himself and even ignore his wife at home. Referenced in Jamila's narrative is a marriage discourse, which produces a good wife as one who weathers the storms in marriage—keeping the marriage together at whatever cost. Indeed Brandy, a single woman recollects how she has castigated her parents for pressurizing her into marriage: " I keep telling them that one of my biggest problems with marriage is…the criteria of marriage in Uganda is how long you have been married not how happy you are…Yeah *"kale afumbye!"* Brandy described a wedding she had attended where the bride, celebrated for waiting 15 years by co-habiting with the current groom, received a standing ovation for enduring the long wait, and Mesach Semakula's "*Abakyala abaguma"*(women who weather storms) was played in her honour to congratulate her for her perseverance.

Implicated within the discourse of marriage as very important for women is the discourse of failed marriages and/or failure to get married as failure for the women.

Women's achievements are then reduced to their marital status. Brandy gives insights into the struggles of living a single life: "for 50 weeks in a year I am a productive human being who adds value…I go to Uganda for 2 weeks and I am an unmarried female with no children—that is all I am. I leave Uganda with less self-esteem than when I walked in, every time!" Like Brandy, Lourdes, one of my best friends who lives abroad loathes taking her holiday in Uganda. While she is married to the love of a life, they are having some difficulty having children. It is the question that a number of Ugandans ask her every time she comes home, which they also ask me as her friend: "Has she has a child yet?" This has had the effect of making Lourdes avoid holidays in Uganda, because every time she returns home, she is ostracized for a childless marriage.

The ostracization of unmarried women is also illuminated in Brandy's narration about some of her friends' husbands who said they "did not like their wives interacting with me because I represent a woman who did not get married." Drawing on marriage discourses that produce unmarried women as unhappy, Brandy also explains how she is perceived in society: "She is there … she is generally this sad forlorn creature who sits on her own at a wedding (laughter) and she is not happy." Brandy recalls attending her younger sister's *kwanjula,* a traditional engagement ceremony. Some of her relatives expressed surprise that despite being single, she was still happy: "You are still happy!" This reduction of women's achievements to marriage works to define unmarried women as failures, heightening the stakes attached to marriage.

Indeed, except for Sr. Lucretia a nun, all the single women in my study expressed the desire to get married. Tino for example affirmed: "I am dating…I think I will get married and have at least 2 more children." Liz, a mechanical engineer who looks forward to getting married and having a family, cites this discourse: "I plan to get married—it's a good thing…I am looking forward to…if I get two sets of twins that is okay…I am tired of living alone." The same discourse is drawn on by Brandy affirming that although she has been in a relationship for 13 years, she yearns to settle down and have children: "I do want a family and I do want children." Despite positioning themselves as independent, self-determining agents who are free to choose their life paths, the women in my study, like the university girls in Jacques and Radtke (2012)'s study in the U.K., intended to get married and have children. The aspiration of the women to get married and/or find a prince is intertextually linked to the myriad of fairy tales such as *Cinderella, Rapunzel* and so on, in which the lady in waiting is found by her prince and they live happily ever. As Ahmed articulately affirms, "the affective repertoire of happiness gives us images of a certain kind of life…There is no doubt that it is hard to separate images of the good life from the historic privileging of

heterosexual conduct, as expressed in romantic love and coupledom" (2010, p. 90). The promise of happiness as imagined is directed toward heterosexual coupling—finding happiness of a good man as necessary for a good life. To deviate from such a happiness script would be tantamount to being "threatened with unhappiness"(Ahmed, 2010, p. 91).

Further, stemming from the mainstream discourse of marriage as very important for women is the good wife material discourse. It is this discourse that informs the preparation of a good wife, which according to the female teacher educators' experiences takes place from their childhood. Sr. Lucretia's mother for example emphasized that she learnt household chores which would make it easier for her to manage her home: "But my mother would tell me I had to learn to do work well so that when I got to my home I would be a good wife. We had to learn the kinds of wood that would cook well and also remain hot." Jose, for example, went to a convent school, where the nuns "they kept telling us women have to dig, clean, study...ladies are supposed to respect themselves, how you are supposed to walk…A woman does not do that…you are supposed to kneel, you are supposed to be humble, you are not supposed to look straight into people's eyes." Like Jose, my daughter Gaby, a tomboy who sometimes lives with her grandmother when I am abroad, has been reminded not to climb trees, talk back or behave like a boy which within the Ugandan context are labelled "bad manners." Jose added that in her convent school, a proper girl was meant to be "humble like the nuns…humble, quiet, holy." Linguistic traces like "kneel", "humble", "back seat", "quiet", "holy" suggest a meekness and submissiveness expected of good wife material negating practices like climbing, looking people straight in the eyes and acting like a boy, which suggest boldness and/or aggressiveness likely to threaten male authority in marriage. Indeed, as a child, Brandy was constantly ridiculed for her outspokenness: "*olina emputu, olina lugezi-gezi, wematira, wepanka…*you are a know-it-all." Brandy as such was in dire need of "disciplining" to fit notions of good wife within the Ugandan context. This good wife discourse has eluded Jamila, whose husband has regularly expressed frustration by her big-headedness: "Even with my husband we have had fights he tells me I am not submissive…He said "You have a big head."

The good wife discourse also informs the policing and regulation of girls' behaviour in the home. Jose explains for example that their father, a strict disciplinarian, was strict only on his daughters: "he would beat us at the slightest provocation….even finding us talking to a boy who was a classmate…He was super strict on us…In the late hours 5 or 6pm he would want us to be in his sight and yet he would not mind the boy." Jose's experience with curfew and regulating her interaction with boys resonates with my own. I lived in a gated home. My father was frantic even

when a female friend visited and I took too "long" accompanying her from our home to the road to board a taxi. This did not apply to my brothers, all of whom were younger than me, but could go out and return whenever. Jose's father also policed his daughters' dressing, rejecting trousers or hair styles he thought were inappropriate. This resonated with my own experience of my father taking offense because I wore trousers. Trousers, worn by a girl at the time (and even today within some Ugandan contexts) suggested impropriety as they were associated with "looseness" and/or "availability", given that a good girl had to dress up decently, hiding her body shape.

The policing of his daughters evokes discourses of unruly and pregnant girls which undermine the idea of a proper girl destined for marriage. Pregnancy out of wedlock suggests shame—a failure on the girls' parents to prepare a good wife, who is sexually untainted and/or "pure." Biru explained for example that when she did get pregnant, it strained her relationship with her parents whom she did not see long after that. The discourse that girls are destined for marriage also informed Jose's father's choice to prioritize his son's education over his daughters' when he struggled with their school fees. The girls had to drop out of school for a year to dig, grow cabbages, sell and make fees for the following year, while their brother continued with school given that he as a male, he was destined to be a bread earner. This discourse of girls as destined for marriage is also cited by Fida when she explained how her uncles, expressing a preference for the education of boys rather than girls, requested her father to help them pay school fees for their sons, rather than spend money on his daughters' schools fees. The prioritization of boys' over girls' education, based on the discourse of girls as destined for marriage is rife in research in Uganda (Deininger, 2003; Muhwezi, 2003; Namatende-Sakwa & Longman, 2013). Muhwezi (2003) explains that some parents prefer to send boys to private schools and girls to public schools which offer free education of a lower standard. Some parents seem to place more value in educating boys rather than girls, because of the idea that girls' education is a waste of time as the benefits are reaped by the marriage partner (Brown, 1996; Ochwa-Echel, 2011).

Overall, the good wife discourse feeds off the discourse of male as superior, which serves to produce women who will be subservient to their husbands, re-inscribing the status quo in which men are positioned as more powerful. Yet this male power is threatened by "powerful" women which is why women like Professor Musta, advanced in career, age and social status are then constructed as "not good marriage material": "you are over qualified for these relationships"; "That one will be telling me to lie down and will beat me"; "She will be the man in the relationship." While old/advanced age is discursively cited to espouse men with its gendered subtexts/connotations about wisdom and experience, for women on the other hand, it

is often used pejoratively to insult them, insinuating a withering-outdated-ness. It is also discursively linked to the idea of "women's value as residing in youthful attractiveness" (Sunderland, 2004, p. 65).

5.8. Women as Sexual Objects

This discourse, which constructs women as objects for appeasing male sexual drive was referenced by Biru in explaining the ways in which the male gaze weighed them as students within a mixed school in Uganda. She explains that as girls passed by boys' dormitories in order to access their own, the boys, objectifying girls, verbally attacked them: "that is where you would hear words like 'dunkwe' and words like 'chic' when you are beautiful…Beauty was for light skin people." This experience is also shared by Brenda who also explains that in her former school, girls were sexualized as they passed by boys' dormitories in order to access their own: "The boys would say nasty things to us…if cute girls passed by, they would say nice things about them…For some girls they would even throw flying kisses at them." Jamila reiterates this narrative, explaining that in her A' level secondary school, there was a magazine in which the 10 most beautiful girls were published: "There was a school paper written by A 'levels. It had the top 10 most beautiful girls." This as Mclaughlin, Uggen and Blackstone argue, "demonstrates men's power to sexually evaluate women" (2012, p. 626). Yet, Jamila explained how proud she felt at that time for making it to this list of desirable girls—feeding the male gaze. This collocates discourses of women as preoccupied with physical appearances and/or "privileging of appearance—in women discourse" (Litosseliti & Sunderland, 2002; Sunderland, 2004), as one way of appealing to the male gaze to secure marital relationships—in that sense invoking the marriage as very important to women discourse.

Indeed, Jamila explains that the girls within the mixed school she attended paid so much more attention to their beauty, reverting them from concentration on academic work: "Girls there took grooming to another level, trimming eyebrows…I have seen it, in a mixed school girls are always thinking about relationships…So for a girl to pass in a mixed school, you have to be strong with a level head." This type of femininity, referred to as "emphasized femininity" (Connell, 1987), has been problematized as a femininity "in which the body is performed as existing...and experienced through a male objectifying gaze" (Paechter, 2007, p. 147). Women's preoccupation with physical appearances as a discourse evokes compulsory heterosexuality (Rich, 1980) in which women are renowned to present themselves in ways that appease the male gaze in order to attract males thereby winning a "man's heart." This discourse, in regard to Western women, conjures up Images of

(sometimes) pretty heavily made up, as well as dangerously thin girls/women (Connell, 2008). Connell explains that such discourses crystalize through images pervasive in the media in which, "Girls are taught by mass culture that they need above all to be desirable, as if their main task was to lie on silk cushions waiting for prince charming to come" (2008, p. 2). Imbued in this discourse then, are subtexts about women as trivial and empty headed, which might explain why as Jamila affirmed, the girls unlike boys in mixed schools, dwelled on external appearances, ignoring their academic work.

Brandy also recounts enactments of the discourse of women as sexual objects using her experience as an engineer in a male dominated space. During one of the inductions for members of a board on which she sat, one of the members shook her hand and then scratched the palm of her palm, a practice which some men in Uganda use to proposition a woman for a sexual affair. During a strategy luncheon for the board and the executive, the same man, as Brandy explains: "starts propositioning me and telling his friends how basically he is in my gene pool. I am an African woman. I am clever, and I am not married, so he thinks I should give him a child." This public propositioning by a colleague happened to Brandy again during a board meeting. This time a Ugandan, Ezra Wenyenyezi expressed satisfaction that Brandy would work in his team/committee, affirming: "Good, in our committee we need beauty and good looking women to whet our appetite in the meeting."

Additionally, Biru also explaining her experiences at the work place, expressed exasperation at the tension emanating from a colleague's sexual advances: "But I think one of the challenges is how to respond to unwanted advances from men. Like I know a colleague who is very touchy-touchy—you could be discussing something and the next time you feel his hard hands on your thighs, and you don't know whether to blast him." Additionally, at the work place, Tino, who teaches in a male dominated department confesses that many of the men tried to make sexual advances at her: "(Laughing)—that never ends—and in fact when you first come, many think you are here to find a boyfriend or something—they keep insisting." Jamila also narrates her experience of sexual objectification at the work place, explaining how her supervisor in the bank always entered her cubicle and touching her back always asked: "When are you giving me some?" I would tell him "I don't mix business with pleasure." There are also customers who propositioned her. She also told me about her female colleagues, who had had sex with regional managers in order to secure their transfers from upcountry to offices to the city centre.

As a teacher in a secondary school, some of Cherry's students wrote notes to her asking to have a romantic relationship: "I would give them an assignment, and then they would return their books with small notes asking to have a relationship with

me (laughs).” Lecturers also made sexual advances towards students, as Sr. Lucretia’s experience illuminates:

> Sr. Lucretia: Well, I remember during my masters, it was 5 students in class. The lecturer put me in charge of the keys for the library where we would have our classes. One time…He found me at the door, and as I tried to open the door, he came closer and was trying to rub himself on me…when I entered, he kept coming closer and we found ourselves running around the table…I went further away, until I reached the door, opened it and dashed out.

Dina also explained that she had witnessed her male colleagues at the faculty, who sexually abused girls in their offices and in cars especially after the evening classes. Some of these girls got pregnant and were forced by the lecturers to have abortions. Brenda reiterates this narrative, describing some pervasive stories of girls threatened by lecturers to give in to sexual advances or risk failing a paper at the university. Tino also cited a pervasive discourse in Uganda, in which male teachers told girls to take books to their houses. This was such a pervasive practice that it passed into Ugandan society as a discourse of sexual abuse, as it gave opportunity for teachers to find girls in spaces where they were too vulnerable to fight sexual abuse.

The enactment of this discourse of women as sexual objects disregards all social hierarchy as illuminated by the sexualisation of colleagues by fellow colleagues, students by their teachers and even employees by their bosses as Cherry’s experience with the driver demonstrates: “Even at my current job, a driver has tried his luck asking me to have a relationship with him. This one particularly annoys me. I told myself it could be because I joke a lot, but again, should my joking be used for people to take advantage of me?” Sexual harassment, which exceeds institutional hierarchical power “may act as a tool to police appropriate ways of ‘doing gender’ in the work place and to penalize gender nonconformity” (McLaughlin et al., 2012, p. 626)—in this sense reminding one that no matter how high you rise institutionally, you remain “just” a woman.

This sexualisation of women was also deployed in their homes. Faith for example, narrates her experience as a secondary school girl. She decided to leave her stepsister’s home because of attempted rape and/or defilement by her stepsister’s husband. When Faith threatened to scream, he threatened her stating: “nkusonyiye leero (I have forgiven you this time…but I will be back.” Faith later discovered that he had HIV and indeed both her stepsister and husband passed on awhile back. Faith also narrated a story about her neighbour’s daughter who had been raped by an uncle whose visits to their home had become constant. He usually sneaked into her bedroom, threatened and raped her. He eventually got caught one night when he raped her over three times, and she could not take the pain anymore.

This narrative is reiterated by Dina, whose brother in law, a much older man, made sexual advances at her when she lived with him and her older stepsister: "My sister's husband, whenever he returned from work, being an elderly man, and a Muganda, I had to kneel down to greet him. He would stretch out his hand, and you know that thing—he would scratch in the middle of my palm." The practice of scratching the middle of a woman's palm is a secret sexual proposition as already explained. Dina also explained that her stepsister's husband had a habit of sneaking out of his room early in the morning as she prepared breakfast, so that he came to the kitchen and touched me her body: "and I could not even scream. It was hard." Dina recalls the incident that sent her packing to leave her stepsister's home. On that night, her sister had been posted to work out of town. Her drunken husband, well aware of this, returned home late, had his dinner and then proceeded to persistently knock at Dina's door, which she refused to open. Dina told her brother about this the following day, and he gave her money to move out and rent her own place.

Faith expresses annoyance that "as a woman, people never talk to you about intelligent things—about opportunities—they talk to you about sexual things like "ompako di?" "nkutwalako out?" "wabula kanzije nkwetwalire", directly translated "when will you give me some (sex)? "When can I take you out?" "I would like to have you for myself." This discourse trivializes women, casting them as the butt of jokes and/or not-to-be-taken seriously. Connell makes mention of "whole genres of humour—bimbo jokes, woman-driver jokes…dumb-whore jokes, rolling-pin jokes—are based on contempt for women's triviality and stupidity" (2008, p. 6). Indeed Faith recalls her experience with male colleagues at a project in Sweden, who constantly made sexual jokes and advances at her, asking for example, who of them should have her first: "Ani asoka?" "ani adako?" This discourse, Faith adds, also informs the ways in which male lecturers make sexual advances at their university students, getting away with it even when the girls report them to the administration. The men get exonerated by fellow men to whom these cases are reported, stating that the reported lecturers were "kwetasa—relieving themselves"—citing a male sexual drive discourse which exonerates men from taking responsibility for losing their sexual control. This as Phipps would assert, " is an example of what Adrienne Rich in 1980 (645) termed the 'penis with a life of its own' argument; taking as given the patriarchal rights of men over women's bodies and mobilising an adolescent model of male sex drive 'once triggered cannot take responsibility for itself or take no for an answer'" (Rich, 1980, p. 646, as cited in 2014, p. 40)

This notwithstanding, narratives of women as sexual aggressors also pervade the female teachers' experiences. Fida for example explains that, "In some cases, sometimes it is both ways. The young men we have are also harassed by the young

ladies." Jenny corroborates this narrative in reference to university girls: "in most cases it comes about by the way girls also carry themselves. Specifically here at campus, a girl comes to class in a very short skirt, she sits at the front and the skirt pulls up, so in this case who is harassing whom?" Jenny cites a discourse of male sexual drive, which is implicated in casting responsibility on women for men's sexual control, asserting "If you dress properly and respect yourself then chances of sexual advances are reduced." This is reiterated by Carol who explains, "But girls can be careless…you just need to do your work and attend lectures." This narrative is reiterated by Dina stating, "Also there are sharp girls who come into male lecturer's offices and try to seduce them." Indeed as Hoffman asserts, "virtually every discussion of sexual harassment begins with caveats that women can in fact harass men" (1986, p. 109). This notwithstanding, women's sexual aggression in the female teachers' narratives is linked to opportunistic discourses of women as materialistic and/or women as trying to attract the male gaze and/or hook men for marriage, foreclosing the possibility of a female sexual drive.

The discourse of women as sexual objects collocates the male sexual drive discourse. As Hollway (1984) explains, male sexual drive discourse "is explicitly about men and implicitly about women" (as cited in Sunderland, 2004, p. 58). It carries connotations in which women are constructed as the objects of men's sexual desire which is uncontrollable. It also informs the expectation of fidelity for women whose sexuality as problematized by some Ugandan scholars, is suppressed (Kinsman, Nyanzi, & Pool, 2002; Muhanguzi et al., 2011). When Biru's husband went abroad to pursue his postgraduate degree for example, she faithfully waited for him, minding the home and the children on her own. Her husband on the other hand, took on another women and even had a child when Biru was away to pursue her PhD. Dina's fiancé also found another woman, when she was abroad, breaking them up. Jose illuminates the double standards in expectations of women's fidelity, which is not required of men: "They can and they are hard on us…we do wait for them…he went to Malaysia for 6 months…I did not even look at anyone else when he was away, why can't he do the same thing for me?" Jose adds that society expects women to be faithful in marriage, and blames them for their husband's infidelity, exonerating men from any obligation or responsibility in this regard. Jose's father reiterates this narrative when he cautioned her on her impending travel abroad to pursue her PhD: "You two should keep talking because society…is going to be hard on you. Society favours us men and misguides us and we keep listening to it. It allows us to find our way with other women." Jose adds that "society pampers men and gives them a go-ahead and they will put the entire blame on you the woman."

This works to re-inscribe the marriage as very important for women discourse, illuminating why they must work and must be present to keep it together. Yet some of the women citing a male sexual drive discourse**,** testify of their spouses' infidelity even in their presence. As Biru affirms, "But I am aware that even when I am here he can cheat." She explains that while her husband cheated and had another baby when she was abroad to pursue her PhD, he had cheated on her a couple of times even before she left. In fact the child he had is older than the duration she was away for her PhD. This narrative is reiterated in Cherry's experience of a cheating husband at a time when she thought she was attending adequately to her wifely duties: "By the time he had them (two children) I was around. It happened when I thought was playing my role as wife in the home. That is why am telling you regardless of whether you are around or not he can go (cheat)." Dina also recollects her father's infidelity, explaining that whenever her mother was away, her father brought girlfriends home…he would run his bath and sit in there and of course you would hear a woman in there." A male sexual drive discourse as such, works to exonerate men from obligations of faithfulness in marriage, ironically casting the responsibility on women for their husband's fidelity.

Yet, the discourse of women as sexual objects appears self-contradictory since it constructs men as subjects and women as objects of the former's sexual desire, while at the same time, implicating men (the subjects), as lacking control of their sexual desires ('point of no return'), while blaming women(the objects) for leading them on. This works by casting the responsibility for men's permissiveness, and/or sexual drive on women, who purportedly have the responsibility to obviate and/or forestall this waywardness. While this discourse is dominantly taken up as "common sense" even by some scientists, Hollway (1984) argues that "Such an understanding must be anti-woman—and hence potentially damaging…it releases men from *controlling* and taking *responsibility* for whatever drives they may experience" (Sunderland, 2004, p. 58). This discourse also treats "women symbolically as a source of defilement for men" (Connell, 2008, p. 6), casting men as victims in this regard. Feminist scholars conceptualize sexual harassment which feeds from the male sexual drive discourse, as well as the discourse of women as sexual objects, as a systemic. It functions at social structural level to reinforce and perpetuate the subordination of women (Backhouse, 2012; Hoffman, 1986; McLaughlin et al., 2012).

5.9. Discussion

I have identified discourses which informed the female teacher educators' gendered experiences narrated in Chapter 4, situating them within relevant literature.

In this section then, I focus on how discourses are networked to secure women's (and men's) subjectivities. While the discourses within the chapter are presented in sections as almost discrete entities, it is for purposes of organization and readability. Far from discrete entities, discourses are entangled in webs of associations (Youdell, 2006) evoking, extrapolating, implicating, contradicting and negating each other. I demonstrate that at the heart of discursive construction of female and male subjectivities as illuminated in my study, is a hierarchical binary structure (Derrida, 2002; Levi-Strauss, 1965) which works to inscribe gendered power relations. I show that within the hierarchical binary, men are largely produced as privileged and/or dominant, while women are produced as the subordinate other, and disavowed as such.

Discourses of male superiority collocate male intelligence and physical power (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messner, 2002). This also informs the hierarchy of disciplines (Paechter, 2000), in which the sciences, which privilege traditionally masculine epistemologies and/or ways of knowing (Harding, 1991; Hughes, 2001) are valorised as shown in the women's stories. The masculine epistemologies then inform the gatekeeping practices which were deployed by teachers and boys on students like Fida in her pursuit of science. Such practices have foreclosed women's entry into these disciplines (Carlone, 2004; Dar-Nimrod & Heine, 2006; Haussler & Hoffmann, 2002; Hazari, Tai, & Sadler, 2007). Indeed there is a paucity of female scientists in Uganda (Muhwezi, 2003; Namatende-Sakwa & Longman, 2013).

This discursive frame, which interpellates male superiority is implicated in the citational chain of discourses (Youdell, 2006) as shown in my study, which produce father figure as icon, male as provider and/or breadwinner, head of home, and leader. This web of discourses also constitute certain heterosexual masculinities such as entitlement, aggression, active sexuality which are ubiquitous in some male characters described in the women's narratives. Such discourses are produced in opposition to discourses of femininity which within the women's narratives are bound up with emotionality and nurturance as well as heterosexuality and monogamy. Femaleness and/or femininity is at once constituted and associated with the subordinate side of gendered hierarchical binaries. As demonstrated in my study then, women are produced using discourses that dominantly interpellate them as nurturers, wives and sexual objects. This web of discourses also constitutes feminine subjectivities that are physically inadequate, trivial, jealous of other women, emotional, vulnerable, needy, and preoccupied with physical appearances. This citational chain in which discourses are intricately linked (Baxter, 2003), then functions to construct maleness as oppositional to femaleness. This configuration of discourses, which as I demonstrated, are interdiscursively linked, draws on an underlying "common sense" gender

differences discourse, with the effect of accentuating masculine/feminine bipolarity to maintain essentialist thinking, and sustain unequal and/or asymmetric power relations, characterized by a hierarchical female/male duality.

Such hierarchical gender arrangements then make discrete gender roles intelligible as shown in the dichotomy between women's and men's roles in the home. The doggedness of gender roles discourses, which set boundaries to secure women in the home and hearth, designate roles of care, not considered as "proper" work, to women, since "they are softer, more emotional" (Francis, 1998, p. 2). The responsibility for paid work then is associated with males "since they are after all, more competitive, brave and ambitious than women" (Francis, 1998, p. 2). This is illuminated in the women's stories, which show most of their fathers as breadwinners, and the mothers as nurturers in the home. As Walkerdine explains, "the confining of women to quasi-domestic…remains a site of economic dependence" (1990, p. 14), reifying hierarchical gendered arrangements in which male is dominant.

Such hierarchical gender regimes informed the discourses of female propriety and/or good wife material. The preparation of the women for marriage was bound up with notions of good wife material as meek, submissive, humble and faithful, securing hierarchical heterosexual coupling arrangements, in which women's personality and sexuality is regulated and suppressed (Kinsman et al., 2002; Muhanguzi et al., 2011). Such arrangements are threatened when women as in my study pursue further education, which could risk male superiority discourses.

This constellation of gendered discourses and discursive practices define the gender order of the society, informing the norms. These construct a communal understanding of typical masculinity and femininity which reflects the ways in which male and female are expected to behave (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Paechter, 2007). However, as Foucault (1978) articulately affirmed, while particular discourses prevail in some contexts and endure, no discourse is guaranteed. Discourses as such have the potential to shift and be unsettled as expounded in Chapter 6, where I focus on how women navigate the gender order, disrupting the pervasive victim narrative used to produce women in the global South.

5.10. Conclusion

This chapter provides insights into the kinds of gendered discourses and practices within the Ugandan context. I illuminated the ways in which women are constructed, cognizant of the feminist goal to unsettle the invisibility and distortion of women's experiences (Lather, 1991). I analysed female teacher educators' stories, paying specific attention to the discourses used to describe and/or talk about women

(and men). In each case, I was interested in what discourses circulate in regard to gender, what knowledge(s) about gender are constructed, and how these knowledge(s) construct and/or reproduce gendered subjectivities. This involved an examination of the portrayal of female and male in ways that illuminate gender as a socially constructed assemblage of discourses, practices and relationships, with gendered positions which vary enormously between cultures (Francis, 1998).

I recognize that the discourses I identified are but "a *partial* set" (Sunderland, 2004) in that different discourses are likely to be identified and named differently by other researchers. Additionally, As Jaworski and Coupland point out, "*most* texts are not 'pure' reflections of single discourses" (1999, p. 9 as cited in Sunderland, 2004, p. 29). As such, I indicated both dominant as well as marginal discourses in the construction of female and male subjectivities from an assemblage of women's storied lives. I have also shown the idea that discourses are related both intratextually and intertextually—"any text is explicitly or implicitly in dialogue with other texts" (Fairlclough, 2001, p. 233 as cited in Sunderland, 2004, p. 30), with dialogical and polemical relations. The discourses work together, supporting and reinforcing gendered subjectivities, simultaneously competing, contradicting and disrupting them.

My findings broadly reveal seven dominant discourses—of male and/or masculinity as superior, science as masculine, mu nju muno tewali muwala, tewali mulenzi/ gender roles discourse, women as nurturers, father figure as icon in the home, marriage as very important for women and women as sexual objects. Intertwined within these dominant discourses are mutually supporting discourses, which work together, buttressing particular gendered subjectivities. These discourses largely construct women in opposition to men who are positioned as intelligent, physically fit, breadwinners, head of home, leaders as opposed to irrational, physically weak, emotional, insecure and nurturing "others." Interwoven therein are subtexts, which trivialize women, reducing them to the home and hearth, and skewing power relations to espouse men. This configuration of discourses are interdiscursively linked, and draw on an underlying/overarching and/or 'common sense' gender differences discourse. These related and/or networked discourses constitute what Sunderland (2004) refers to as an "order of discourse" (after Foucault). This constructs a gender regime through which localized femininities and masculinities are constructed and/or resisted. As affirmed by Francis, "Post-structural theory enables us to argue that there is no essential 'femaleness.' Instead, dominant discourses of gender position all people as male or female, and provide narratives about the ways in which those people should behave and what they should desire" (1998, p. 8). As Sunderland explains however, actual male and female "behaviour may—but may not—correspond to those representations and expectations (2004, p. 21). As such, in the next chapter, I focus on

the ways in which the gender regime and/or order of discourse is resisted and/or negotiated by the women.

Chapter 6
Resistance in Existing Socio-Cultural Interactions: Locating Agency within Crevices of Subordination

6.1. Introduction

The breadth of studies on women's agency, specifically as it relates to unsettling the monolithic victim narrative which informs the construction of non-Western women is extensive (Abu-Lughod, 2013; Mahmood, 2005; Mohanty, 1991; Mohanty, 1984; Mohanty, 2003; Sensoy & Marshall, 2010; Spivak, 1988). These studies have challenged Western feminist scholarship on the Middle East, which, having analysed agency from a Western perspective, then portray non-Western women as victims who are passive and submissive to male oppression. Such studies, although extensive, as explained in Chapter 1, have largely focused on the Middle Eastern contexts, within the realm of religion and/or Islam. While some feminist scholars have focused on African women's agency, it is either within the African American context (Collins, 2000; Hooks, 2012; Hooks, 1994; Lorde, 1983) and South African context (Cooper, 1999; McClintock, 1999) around issues of race, or around "exotic" cultural practices in sub-Saharan Africa (Brinkman, 2007; Harcourt, 2009; LaTosky, 2015; Longman & Bradley, 2015; Sserembe, 2012; Tamale, 2005). While such studies as already argued in Chapter 1, illuminate the ways in which women navigate patriarchal socio-cultural structures, their focus on exotic rather than "regular" and/or "routine" non-Western lives, exoticizes these bodies, essentially otherising them, and, reinstating power relations in which the "others" body becomes

a study site for Western bodies. Further, while some studies, specifically about Ugandan women disturb the monolithic victim narrative (Bantebya & Keniston, 2006; Decker, 2014; Obbo, 1976; Tripp, 2000), they do not carve out the women's agentic scripts, leaving liberal humanist notions of agency, which have been used to re-inscribe the victim narrative unexamined and/or intact.

In taking up this study on non-Western, specifically Ugandan women's trajectories, this chapter provides insights into some women's lived and/or "real" and/or "regular" day-to-day experiences. I argue that this approach is likely to disturb monolithic constructions of non-Western women, while also showing intersections and/or disparities between them and Western women. In focusing on moments of resistance within some Ugandan women's gendered lived experiences, I operationalize resistance in this study drawing from the Foucauldian tradition.

Foucault explains that resistance is extant in all power relations, as well articulated in his oft-cited statement, "Where there is power, there is resistance"(1978, p. 93). He adds that "As soon as there is a power relation, there is a possibility of resistance. We can never be ensnared by power: We can always modify its grip in determinate conditions and according to a precise strategy" (1988, p. 123). Resistance as such is that which escapes and/or evades power, threatening and/or weakening its diffusion. Resistance is what threatens power, hence it stands against power as an adversary. In arguing that there are diverse points of resistance within the web of power, Foucault distances himself from defining limits to resistance as such limits could foreclose various opportunities which resistance may open up. He argues that there are points of resistance suffused within the power network and as such, "there is no single locus of great refusal…Instead there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case: resistances that are possible, necessary, improbable; others that are spontaneous, savage, solitary, concerted, rampant or violent; still others that are quick to compromise, interested, or sacrificial" (Foucault, 1978, p. 96). This suggests an endorsement of all forms of opposition, supporting a wide range of political actions.

As such, Foucault disturbs the creation of grand narratives and/or foundationalism in regard to resistance, affirming that limits to resistance will "be derived from ideals supported by modern power" (Pickett, 1996, p. 447). Contextual cultural norms set limits, defining what is permissible in specific contexts. It is by conforming to such foundational issues of culture and/or norms that cultural (im)propriety is achieved. While some of the norms "suffocate" some subjects, constraining human possibilities, others are invested in maintaining these norms, which guarantee and sustain their privileged positions. Foucault emphasizes that we illuminate what enables people's resistance: "what is it that sustains them, what gives

them their energy, what is the force at work in their resistance, what makes them stand and fight" (1980, p. 136).

In this chapter, I illuminate the political work in the resistance of female university teacher educators in Uganda—their struggle over, appropriation of and transformation of cultural meanings within power relations in the extant gender arrangements in their lived experiences—their survival as a space for politics. I attempt to contextualize agency within power relations to make lucid how acts deemed resistant transgress, negotiate, remake cultural norms, creating spaces for women to act within constraining gendered cultural conditions. The women's agency constructed in this way, transcended normative understandings of head-on resistance to power, illuminating how they found narrow spaces—interstices, crevices within which to act, weakening set limits and/or norms, in order to remake their realities.

This focus on agency within conditions of subjugation does not lose sight of women's marginalization, but, goes beyond the pervasive victimhood narrative, to also consider their socio-cultural and political expressions of resistance and power as spaces of politics and learning. Drawing from the stories around women's lived experiences, I illuminate the ways in which women find spaces to elude power, reshaping their reality. The women elude power by partaking of power in academia, trudging on in silence amidst the storm, embracing education to espouse them, disturbing the marriage-above-all-else-script, crossing gender boundaries, pushing back in male dominated spaces and repudiating sexualisation at the work place. I discuss each of these, providing evidence from the women's narratives to illuminate agency.

6.2. Partaking of Power in Academia

In this section, I illuminate how the women in my study redefined their career paths, veering away from the precariousness associated with teaching in the Ugandan context, and ushering themselves into what is deemed as more coveted and/or powerful echelons of the teaching profession. The women as such, resist discourses that have traditionally interpellated them into teaching which is considered a woman's job, securing themselves into male dominated highly-sought-after teaching positions at the university. Such positions, imbued with power and autonomy, provided a space for women to exercise their agency in straddling both the public as well as the private spaces of care in the home within a context in which motherhood is important to the women, and a measure of success.

Teaching, which is considered a "woman's" job (Trouve-Finding, 2005), is generally poorly remunerated internationally as it is in Uganda, compared to other

professional fields. The number of women within teaching notwithstanding, they remain disproportionately represented within school leadership in most countries in the world (Bush & Glover, 2016; Coffey & Delamont, 2000), including Uganda (Sperandio & Kagoda, 2010). Teaching within the Ugandan society is a profession taken up dominantly by women especially at lower levels of education, such as nursery and primary schools. Also gendered are the teaching subjects, with arts teachers more likely to be female while science teachers are more likely to be male (Muhwezi, 2003; Namatende-Sakwa & Longman, 2013). In articulating a scenario which reflects the gendered teaching arrangements in Uganda, Coffey and Delamont explain, most "women teachers generally remain clustered in lower, unpromoted ranks of the teaching profession, and in particular (feminine) subject areas and school arenas (2000, p. 45).

The precariousness in regard to teaching in Uganda is bound up with the extremely low pay. It has been commonplace for teachers to organize to strike for an increment in their salaries, only to retract from their decision given the response in threats of dismissal by the government reminding them of their indispensability. It is not surprising then, that a majority of the women in my study "broke" out of teaching at secondary school. Out of the 15 women who became classroom teachers, only Faith and Sr. Lucretia aspired for this position. The other 13 took on teaching as a profession—albeit grudgingly, because they were admitted for it on a government scholarship, having failed to make the grades for their first choices. Bitte for example wanted to become a lawyer, Carol an engineer, Tino a doctor, Barbara a pilot, and Jamila an accountant.

In "redeeming" herself from this profession, Bitte, now a dean within an education department, applied for a postgraduate degree after three months of teaching. This was an entry point to her career in academia within the university. Like Bitte, I enrolled for a masters in linguistics right after completing my bachelor degree in education. Although I taught for four years at a secondary school, and enjoyed it, I still aspired to teach at a university. On finishing the masters, I applied and was recruited as an assistant lecturer at Uganda Martyrs University. Bitte, shares my own sentiments, when she affirms that she does not regret her career path.

When Fida, now a dean within a physics department at the university was admitted to a bachelor of education degree program at the university, she did not like it: "I did not want to be a teacher…many times I would want to change it." When she completed her degree, she taught at Gayaza High school, an affluent Christian girls school, where she enjoyed teaching the smart enthusiastic students. Nonetheless, she yearned to take teaching to another level: "I wish I could be a teacher in a much higher level than secondary school." One of her former professors, knowing that she

was a teacher near the university, gave her a part time position as an assistant in a demonstration laboratory. She left Gayaza after one year of teaching and started on her masters in physics, which gave her an entry space into the university where she has gone up the ranks from assistant lecturer to dean and associate professor in a male dominated department of physics. She has published widely and loves the work at the university.

Gloria, currently a lecturer within a physics department at a university, had agonized over her failure to make the points for electrical engineering at the university, envying her friends who had made it. This had taken a toll on her first year grades which were low. She decided to talk herself out of the pity-party: "I then told myself, this is the government course I have been given. I better do it well." Realizing that the degree in education was indeed a government-sponsored opportunity, she committed to excel in the program. Gloria was recruited as an assistant lecturer within the physics department as soon as she finished her undergraduate degree in education. This was because she had excelled: "It was all about excelling—when I finished my undergraduate, I had good grades…I was called upon to start teaching."

As a part-time lecturer of math at the university, Brenda had initially aspired to become a pilot. When this did not work out she states, " I settled for education." She has continued to teach both at the university as part-time lecturer, and in a secondary school where she has a full time position. She loves teaching and receives a lot of positive feedback from her students about her great performance as a teacher. The sense of satisfaction from the progress of her students is very motivational for her. She has taught so many students that as she explained, "I am never stranded in any office, hospital, school…to them a teacher is always a teacher—I always get first class treatment." This notwithstanding, Brenda is currently writing her master's thesis in order to increase her chances for fulltime employment at the university.

Jenny, currently a lecturer within the chemistry department, had been saddened by the possibility that her bachelor's degree in chemistry would lead only to the profession as a classroom teacher. She and her friend Marjorie, discouraged by this narrative, made an appointment with the head of department to discuss their future prospects. The first question he asked them was to look round the department and tell him how many female lecturers they saw in the department. At that time, there was only one female lecturer in the chemistry department. This encouraged them to work harder in order to qualify for teaching positions at the university. He also told them about other possibilities within industries and pharmaceuticals. Jenny resolved to work hard in order to excel: "We told ourselves, if we do well, then we will teach here (at the university)…We teamed up and we excelled and many organizations wanted us." The same professor who had advised them to take up chemistry approached

Jenny and told her about a research position, which she took up jumpstarting her academic career within the university. She loves teaching in the university and does not regret this.

Cherry got her current position as a national math trainer through the credentials she had accumulated by attending several workshops and trainings to improve her competence in math. While other teachers waited for funding in order to advance their knowledge, Cherry always took the initiative, using her own funds to attend relevant workshops and conferences. Impressed by her wealth of knowledge, the interviewers awarded her a 3 months scholarship to program in Utah, which focused on how to encourage young people especially girls, to take on math. Cherry was the only female awardee from sub-Saharan Africa. When she returned from Utah, she asked for a slot from the Uganda Mathematics Association (UMA), where she shared what she had learned. This is when she was elected vice president of UMA. She continued to apply and qualify for several short scholarships related to the teaching of mathematics, going to Nairobi for 2 weeks, and later to Malaysia for 2 months. She integrated most of what she learned into her lessons and students passed increasingly well, even rejecting other teachers in preference for Cherry. When the position for national math trainer was advertised, Cherry outcompeted the rest and as she asserts, "the Lord availed me the job." Cherry just completed her postgraduate degree in mathematics and awaits her viva. She intends to apply for a scholarship to pursue her PhD in mathematics.

Biru started her career as a secondary school teacher with a diploma in secondary education. She then upgraded to a bachelor's degree in which she excelled with a first class honours. When the position of teaching assistant was advertised, she applied and given her first class degree, it was not long before she got her appointment letter. She has served at the university for 15 years now and loves her job. She did masters at Makerere University in Uganda, before embarking on her PhD at a university in the UK. Biru intends to remain a lecturer at the university: "the money is better, and you also have an upper hand in making choices about what you teach and how you teach."

Jamila, currently a banker, and part-time lecturer at the university, explains that she has "a natural acumen for numbers. Jamila's dream had been to become a pilot. However, she did not make the required points and settled for education. She accepted to pursue it on condition that she would immediately enrol for a postgraduate degree in an accountancy field, so that she could eventually leave teaching. Jamila's plan is to finish her ACCA and embark on an MBA, in order to ensure career growth and promotion within the banking sector. She plans to eventually phase out teaching.

Dina, currently a lecturer within a school of education, and also a PhD student in a university in the U.S, graduated with a bachelor's degree in education. However, she did not want to be a teacher. She applied for a university tutorial assistantship during the last year of her degree. The university had advertised for a tutorial assistant with a good undergraduate degree. Highly recommended by her former lecturers, she submitted her application. Surprisingly, the department in which she applied had a student who had been working in this position already, and it is him they wanted to formally recruit. Dina passed the interview but the department did not tell her about it, in the hope that she would miss required deadlines for submitting medical examination results and signing the appointment letter. Having realized the politics within the recruitment process, Dina acted quickly when she realized that she had not received a response from the appointments board. Her boyfriend at the time, pretending to be Dina's father, called the board to inquire about his "daughter's" interview. They told him that she had passed the interview and needed to do some medical tests. That day was the deadline. Fortunately, her boyfriend at the time, worked with Ministry of Works within the transport section. He knew some bus owners and their schedules. He found her the quickest city bound bus, making it possible for her to reach in time to do the medical exam, submit the results and sign her appointment letter, beating the deadline. Dina took up the position as tutorial assistant, from whence she has been promoted to the position of assistant lecturer.

Teaching at the university within the Ugandan context evokes the idea of power and a sense of pride, which the women indeed talk about. Tino for example, compares her previous position as a secondary school teacher and her current position as a lecturer at a university: "Well, having taught in a secondary school, just telling people that I work at a university is a bonus. I also feel good…my timetable is variable …we have holidays—when my students excel, I am happy because these are my products." Liz, a lecturer within the department of mechanical engineering also explains the powerfulness of a lecturer position at the university: "You interact with people and have normal conversations until someone introduces you as their lecturer—then the normal conversation becomes not so normal and everybody turns to give you that look…It has benefits in that you always have the favours." This sense of pride and/or power embodied in teaching at the university is heightened for Gloria in working within physics, which is valued within the hierarchy of school subjects (Paechter, 2007). As she affirms, "You feel proud—you feel superior (laughing). When you tell people you are teaching physics, they think you are smart. And when they know you teach it at the university, they are even more amazed".

In my experience as a teacher at secondary school, I felt stifled by the policing and regulation of timetable, curriculum and even my clothes. The relative freedom to

negotiate my timetable, reworking the curriculum in ways that I felt would benefit my students, as well as the flexibility that allowed time to fit my family in, was invaluable at the university. This is corroborated by Bitte affirming: "I think the university is the best place for a lady to work in…Because much as you are supposed to teach, do research, and do community service…you have control."

In order to reach the high echelons of the teaching profession, the women remade their reality by pursuing postgraduate degrees, which are a minimum requirement for recruitment and confirmation as lecturers within Ugandan universities. Some of them also worked hard, ensuring that they excelled with grades that gave them a competitive edge in qualifying for the teaching positions. The networks created with former lecturers at the university were also useful in creating room for entry into the university. Some of the women dared to apply for these positions, to which they were recruited, and others, specifically Dina, navigated the politics, which might have inhibited her recruitment, negotiating her way into employment at the university. Disrupting the norm as such, in which the majority of women remain in lower rank positions within feminine subjects, some of these women excelled and some like Fida have attained leadership roles as associate professor, and dean within male dominated spaces like physics, which is considered the most abstract and least gender diverse of the science subjects, in that it registers the fewest numbers of female students (Hazari & Potvin, 2005; Pollock, Finkelstein, & Kost, 2007).

Yet even in redefining their own possibility thereby partaking of the power imbued in academia, which is unsurprisingly male dominated, the women in some ways, reproduce the espousal of male and/or masculine ways of being/knowing which is pervasive in most cultures (Kuzmic, 2000). Rather than challenge the problematic gendered power structures that generally typify universities (Crabtree et al., 2009), the women reify these power relations by fitting right into prevalent androcentric structures (Lazar, 2007; Messner, 2002; Scott, 1988). This notwithstanding, these women, most of them mothers, find a space within this web of power to also partake of their role as mothers. The pleasure of teaching at the university is bound up with the autonomy to schedule timetables in ways that support work and motherhood. While this risks re-inscribing women's identity as always already "natural" nurturers which is problematic in some ways (Butler, 1992), it also creates possibility for these women to partake in power within public spaces, while also nurturing their families within a context where motherhood is constructed as a joy and measure of success. Agency as such is located in straddling both the public as well as the private spaces which embody women's ways of being—"feeding and nurturing….attending to bodies and minds" (Beasley, 1999, p. 17). Teaching within academia in this sense is produced as appealing for the women, because it also provides spaces for them to also

enact care in this sense creating spaces for care within a discursively "all-powerful" space and/or academia.

Yet, the women in my study have not flaw*lessly* navigated career and motherhood. Indeed, the narratives in regard to juggling career and work/school are emotionally dense—weighed down by guilt, regret, depression, uncertainty, paranoia, and anxiety. Further, the responsibilities of these women to their families, especially the children, have weighed in on their career choices and opportunities. Bitte for example, held off leadership until her children had grown older. When she finally took it up, she found it rewarding in some way, but was exasperated by the paucity of time left to spend with her children. This corroborates Judy Wajcman (1999)'s argument that women in leadership are expected "to act just like men: work the long hours…re-structure their domestic lives so that they too could shed responsibilities for child care, cooking and housework" (as cited in Connell, 2008, p. 101). Yet the women's responsibility to their children remained entangled with their career trajectories. Carol for example, took a break of 7 years from teaching to take care of her children. And now that they have grown, she plans to do her masters when the children are old enough to do their programs abroad, so that she can go abroad with them. These women explain in different ways, that it is most important for their families to thrive. As such they find agency in making sacrifices to ensure their children shine, in a culture where the failure of a child is bound up with the mother—and ironically, the child's achievement is attributed to the father.

As such, some of the women struggle with the messiness of the juggle between children and career, developing modes of resistance to keep them afloat in stormy waters that seek to drown them solely into motherhood, where they are "supposed" to be. A pervasive mode of resistance deployed by most of the women was talking back to the "tall" tales which were meant to deter them from pursuing further studies. Bitte, Jenny, Jose, Tino and I for example, dismissed the idea that our husbands would be "stolen" if we left them, reasoning that this could happen even in our presence. Jenny used examples of people she knows, whose marriages broke despite their enduring presence. In this way, Jenny turned this dominant tale on its head. Some of the women, like Jose, resisted the entitlement of men—albeit covertly, raising critical questions about societal expectations of women's fidelity in cases of separation, which is not expected of men. These critical rhetorical questions express a critical engagement with gendered arrangements, which she dismisses to pursue her dreams. The use of technology such as Skype is another way in which these career mothers suggest they can exercise their power to mother the children—albeit remotely, while pursuing their career advancement.

6.3. Without Ruffling Feathers

In this section, I focus on the ways in which the women navigated the gendered hiccups they had as school-going girls. The women, as girls in school eluded the powers that might have ejected them from school, in ways that did not upset the status quo—without ruffling feathers so to speak. The women, as girls, generally found agency in covert resistance, silently trudging on, within conditions where outright and/or direct resistance would have punitively been disciplined and silenced creating more oppressive conditions. I argue as expounded later on in the chapter, that such elusive rather than radical forms of resistance are likely to go unchecked, as they did in my study, creating possibility for the women to remake their realities.

In getting pregnant as a head girl, and teacher's daughter in school, Fida, now a professional within the physics department, survived by the support of her father, against forces that would have normally ejected her from school: "I had that hitch during S.6 when I got pregnant…it was bad…I think my father was hurt so much but he allowed me to go and do the exams." She recollects the discomfort, the judgmental talk and stares that affected both her and her father in the school. Indeed Fida was later dismissed from the boarding section when the pregnancy became obvious, commuting from home to school. Mainstream narratives produce teenage pregnancy as bound up with immorality and ideas of poor upbringing, bringing shame to the family (Kwesiga, 2002). When the crisis of teenage pregnancy claimed the news headlines in Uganda, the minister of education, a woman at the time, pejoratively affirmed that such girls should be expelled from schools. The norm within Ugandan schools is to punitively shame and/or expel pregnant girls for their perceived immorality and risk of disturbing the imagined asexual social fabric of school spaces. However, covertly resisting the norms which eject pregnant girls from school, Fida continued with school against the ridicule of society, passing her exams enough to get admission on a government scholarship to pursue a degree in education with a specialization in physics.

Jose, raised by a single father, faced both financial and emotional issues. She had to drop out of school, spending a year in the garden growing cabbages in order to save up for the following years' school fees.

> I remember one time dad was struggling with our fees, he put my sister and I out of school and said he had only money for our brother…His argument was that we were going to go digging, grow cabbages, sell and make fees for the following year. Which cabbages didn't work because the animals ate them.

While their brother prepared for school, Jose and her sister went to the garden with a flask of porridge that they fed off as they dug and watered the cabbages from

morning till evening. As Jose explains, "I felt that was an injustice. Why did he keep the girls out and the boy in school for a year?" She was saddened that as her classmates progressed to another class, she and her sister had to repeat a class because they had lost a year of school. While Jose initially resisted the gender arrangements in her home by inwardly interrogating her father's decision to take her brother to school, while they had to drop out to work for their school fees, she later directly questioned her father in this regard: "I remember feeling so bad. I felt beaten down… this is so unfair. I remember challenging him and saying Dad is it because we are girls? Why are you keeping us home so we can dig?" Jose's father's decision to keep the boy in school while the girls suspended school because of financial difficulty illuminates a norm in Uganda, where boys' schooling is prioritized over girls (Brown, 1996; Deininger, 2003; Muhwezi, 2003; Ochwa-Echel, 2011). This is informed by the gender roles discourse that has traditionally produced girls as nurturers and boys as breadwinners. This notwithstanding, Jose resisting such narratives, remained in school and worked hard. She is now a teacher educator at a university.

Dina's father had moved her from one boarding school to another in the attempt to ensure that her mother did not get access to her. At the schools, her father, powerful and wealthy—a gynaecologist by profession, did not include Dina's mother on the list of permitted visitors for Dina. As such, her mother was once turned away when she came to visit Dina. Aware that her mother had been a head nurse and was well known by the nurses in the different schools her father took her, Dina resolved to always introduce herself to the school nurses, asking them to tell her mother where to find her. This made it possible for Dina's mother to visit her in the guise of visiting the school nurse. Without ruffling feathers, Dina and her mother found spaces in which to navigate, resisting "the rule of father" as well as institutionalized gate-keeping practices imbued in the visiting card. My mother, who visited me at my boarding primary school, also navigated these gate-keeping practices. While my father did not tell her to which school he had sent me, my late mother through her own networks, found out anyway, and was always the first during visiting days, staying with me in school until my father came.

When Biru's father moved back to Uganda from Kenya, he returned with his Kenyan wife and her stepbrothers and sisters. Biru decried the discomfort of living in a home with "so many people and clicks." Although she commuted to school and engaged with her school work, one of her step brothers spread rumours that "I was actually loitering in town, and that I was not in school." This idea of girls "loitering" within the streets of the city suggests that they are out of control, and implicates them in illicit romantic and/or sexual entanglements with men. This was unsettling for Biru who attributed her struggles in school to instability within the home as well as

emotional turmoil. Rather than face off with her brother as well as narratives that produced her as deviant, Biru found agency in turning to her love for reading, immersing herself into another world to escape, if only for a while, the emotional turmoil that enveloped her. In so doing, she resisted the powers that could have "broken" her, developing her love for reading as well as her English, which she teaches at the university.

When Bitte's father lost his job, she took to working in order to raise her school fees, which was sometimes supplemented by her father through selling a cow. One of her moneymaking ventures involved making local brew, which got her enough money to put herself through university. In so doing, Bitte had disturbed and/or transgressed the norm within her community, where the role of breadwinner is relegated to the men, creating a space in which she could earn money for her education, in a cultural context that espouses educated women above their uneducated counterparts. In taking the proverbial bull by its horns to earn her bread, Bitte had engaged in the traditionally male and/or masculine role of brewing local beer, resisting discourses that essentialise gendered roles.

Faith and her brother had lived with their father in the staff house, also attending a school where their father worked as a science teacher. While their father was an outstanding teacher, the school decided to suck him because of his alcoholism. At the time, Faith and her brother had gone to their mother's house for the holiday. When they returned to school in Masaka town, their father was nowhere to be seen! Now abandoned by their father in school, Faith and her brother did not have money for transport to take them back to their mother in Kampala, which is about 140kilometers from Masaka. But, as Faith explains, "we also knew that she did not have any money, and that if we returned home, then that would be the end of our education." They resolved to, in her words, "find ways to charm the teachers to let us into the boarding section." Because they did not have any of the requirements for the boarding section, they requested the head teacher who let them take some of the school mattresses from their father's house. Faith and her brother had lived with their father and his housemate (also a teacher) in one of the staff houses. However, their father's housemate refused to give them the good mattresses. He eventually gave them, as Faith explained, "very rotten mattresses full of beg bugs. In fact I think he had sprayed them with bedbug spray, and they were stinking of chemical." Faith shamefully carried her mattress and an old blanket to the dormitory. Faith and her brother did not have pocket money or other school necessities. They survived by picking up whatever other children disposed of: "you know rich people's children would throw pieces after washing—those are the ones I would pick up. I don't know about toothpaste. I don't know what I did about that (laughs)." She recalls how much

she hated Sundays because while all the girls dressed up in their very best, she just wore her uniform because she did not have any other clothes to change into.

The teacher in charge of sending children back home to collect school fees realized their problem. Faith explains, "At one time he called me and told me not to worry." The teacher told Faith, "when I call your name among the school fess defaulters, come out, but do not go home. Just go back to class." Faith adds that the teacher did this for her brother too, which is how they survived each term. The problem came however, when she had to pay the registration fees required before she could do the national exam. This fee had to be paid to the deputy head teacher, whom she eventually found out was a distant relation. She went and introduced herself to him, "in an attempt to increase my network of support." However, as she explains, "he did not play the politics of supportive network." He informed her that she had to go home and bring the registration fee. She knew that there would be no money at home, and the two days given in which to get the money and return were not feasible for her circumstances. She also did not have money for transport to Kampala:

> I resorted to asking children to lend me money—I borrowed from many children—I do not even know how I convinced them, but I managed to put the money together. I did not know how I was going to repay it, but I knew I would cross that bridge when I got to it.

As she contemplated how she would repay her classmates' money, for the first time, her sister sent her some money—"I remember it was 7000shillings." She happily paid off her debt, and "even had some money left to eat some 'kamonko'—deep-fried fish, which children who had money always ate with posho and apeta (laughs)." She also spared some of the money for transport to return home at the end of the school term: "And yeah, but we survived—my brother finished his S.4 and I, my S.6."

Jenny, currently a lecturer in a chemistry department, compared her childhood to other children's, affirming that she, unlike other children did not have the choice to be a child: "Hard work is good, but for me, it was the only hope I could hold onto, and worry that If I slipped, then my school fees would not be paid." Jenny had to give up her childhood in order to prove herself, in ways that would qualify her as worthy of an education. Jenny's parents had separated, giving her up to her aunt and uncle, who raised her. Similarly, Liz, currently a mechanical engineer and lecturer within the faculty of engineering, was raised in a polygamous family. Given the size of the family, her parents could not afford to pay her tuition fees. Her uncles took on Liz's tuition fees on condition that she scored good grades. She had to work hard in order to achieve this. Further Tino, as an orphan, had to prove herself in order for her guardians to continue paying fees for her. Given the paucity in resources, Tino's guardians had intended to let her take a diploma program rather than pursue further

education, so that they could invest in her siblings who had hardly been in school by the time their parents passed on. The guardians however, gave her the opportunity to prove herself as a condition for her to progress to higher education. Tino worked hard, and also later received a bursary, which took care of her tuition and stipend at the university.

On the whole, the women made use of a diverse number of strategies to wrestle the effects of gendered power arrangements such as gender discrimination, pregnancy, polygamy, alcoholism, divorce, lack of tuition, and single parenting which had produced the conditions of their struggles. Resistance for these women was not head-on—it was covert resistance. Power was negotiated through covertly raising questions and interrogating the status quo, rather passively accepting it. This covert resistance was exercised by Jose for example, when her father pulled the girls out of school, showing preferential treatment for their brother. Additionally, hard work gave most of the women reigns to shape their realities within conditions where they had minimal control. This is illuminated by Jenny for example, when she gives up her childhood to earn her tuition. Through the creation of networks with the nurses in her school for Dina, and with teachers and friends for Faith, the women created a space to navigate power within conditions of precariousness. Further still, transgressing the norm in which men are considered breadwinners, Bitte took to brewing local brew, a traditionally male role, to put herself through school. Biru turned to reading rather than overtly resist the effect of polygamous home arrangements. Covertly resisting the norms which destine pregnant girls to marriage, Fida stayed in school, passing her exams enough to get admission on a government scholarship, to pursue a degree in education with a specialization in physics.

Through coping strategies of resilience, hard work, covert questioning/interrogation of status quo, forging networks, reading and working for financial independence, the women created possibility to elude gendered powers that might have ejected them from school. They generally found agency in covert resistance, silently trudging on, within conditions where outright and/or direct resistance would have punitively been disciplined and silenced creating more oppressive conditions. Citing Bronwyn Davies (1993), a great Australian educator, Connell legitimizes covert resistance as a kind of resistance to patriarchy, affirming, "challenges to patriarchy need not involve head-on confrontation" (2008, p. 60). Indeed, well aware of contextual readings of head-on and/or overt resistance, the women largely stuck to silence. While this could be read differently within the mainstream, silence in these stories is not passive, but is used to actively interrogate power structures, while working within those structures to create possibility. In

complicating speech and silence in the classroom, Jones' engagement with silence of marginalized groups struck a chord with the silence within the women's' narratives:

> From the point of view of the silent other, the decision not to speak may be rather less troubling and rather more eloquent than it appears; it may be a pragmatic rejoinder to a set of conditions beyond their control. Silence may be a rational response to their (dominant) peer's lack of ability to hear and understand (Jones, 2010, p. 60)

While the silence might have been construed as passivity to gender power structures, the women, reading their context, as already argued, used silence to interrogate, well aware that talking back, would not have been understood, risking to cast them into precariousness, rather than make spaces to navigate oppressive gendered arrangements.

6.4. Praying to God

In this section, I focus on the ways in which the women took up prayer as a way of doing something about realities they thought they did not have control over. I demonstrate that spirituality is part and parcel of these women's lives all of whom are religious—17 of them self-identified as Christian, while one is Muslim.

The idea of taking my worries and concerns to God in prayer was a practice I was raised doing. We always prayed as a family before meals—thanking God for providence. As a family we prayed together before bed, and we went to catholic church on Sundays. My parents also took me to catholic schools throughout my schooling days. In these schools the day always started with early morning mass at about 6:00 a.m. This was followed by collective prayer before breakfast which we had as a school in the dining room. The prefect in charge of the dining room always sounded the bell as a reminder to humble ourselves and pray before the meal. There was a school assembly every morning, which started off with reading of scripture, and then prayer, before other announcements were made and off to the classes we would then go. This is a familiar schedule in most Ugandan schools, most of them affiliated to a religion. It is the schedule even in my children's school, which is a Christian school.

Praying to God as such has always been self-evident for me until I first went to the United Kingdom where I did my master's degree. At the University of Manchester, I was allocated a desk in the PhD room, where I sat with about 6 other PhD students. I do not remember what set the conversation in motion, but I recall how shocked some of my colleagues were that I practiced Christianity. Indeed one of them

questioned how a PhD student (I had been admitted as one) could actually believe in God! I told him that it was precisely *because* I was a PhD student that I believed in God, given the myriad of events that I could neither understand nor control. This is when I realized that the belief in God was not universal. Another event brought this realization to light. As I travelled on the bus about two years later in Belgium, I sat near an elderly man with whom I struck a conversation. I inadvertently exclaimed "my God!" in response to a statement he had made. I could swear he almost jumped out of his sit, exclaiming, "Are you are religious?" I realized that the spontaneous ways in which phrases with God were used in Uganda, could be read as political statements elsewhere.

Indeed the phrase "pray about it" punctuates spaces in Uganda when faced with challenges. Yet, It is no longer self-evident for me, having lived outside Uganda, specifically in the West, where it is not been a rallying point among the women I have interacted with. As such, evoking God during unpredictable moments always sticks out to me even back home in Uganda. On the several what's app forums to which I belong for example, God is always evoked when the women share all sorts of problems—most of them gendered—about ailing children, cheating husbands, the failure to conceive. In fact the two women's groups to which I belong both have sub-groups divided across religions. One of them is a catholic group in which the women share problems and achievements, using the rosary to pray for each other. The other is a group specifically dedicated to praying for the womb so that those women struggling to conceive will have the wombs opened by God, in order to have children. Recourse to God then was prevalent in the female teacher educators' narratives evoking God when circumstances seemed grim.

Brandy's appeal to God, which I explain earlier was surrounding pressures for her to get married. Evoking God, she talked back affirming: "I know I am not in control…What God wants for me He will give me. All in good time." She also unsettles the idea that everybody is destined for marriage asserting, " I think we will be answerable to God. I do not know that everybody was given the gift to be a wife. I think it is a box in the rite of passage that everybody feels they have to go through because of the society that we live in. I don't think it is what God meant for everybody." Brandy adds that, "God has given me so much," which is why she resolves to leave matters out of her control to God. Providing insights into her upbringing as a Christian, Brandy explains how she has reprimanded her mother for changing goal posts by pressuring her to take things into her own hands and get married, rather than leave it to God: "I keep telling my mother…you raised us to be children of faith and to pray for God's will. Now you want me to use human intervention? If time is going by let it go! But I am not going to be dragged because I

have seen what it does to women. I do not want to walk backwards. I cannot wait all this time to do worse off than I am now." Leaving her "precarious" state as an unmarried woman up to God is Brandy's way of engaging with a reality which she believes is out of her control, refusing to be pressured to rush into marriage. The idea of God is also evoked in the prayer passed on by Sr. Cosmas to my classmates and I when she taught us Divinity. She urged us to pray for our husbands so that they would be baked right for us. Indeed as a girl, I prayed for my husband using this prayer.

Carol, a lecturer in the physics department evoked God in ways that celebrate Him for her achievements. Carol's narrative is punctuated with "oh my God", as a dominant phrase. Carol acknowledged the power imbued in God, affirming, "if you don't believe in God then what next?" Additionally, in responding to the question as to how she juggles motherhood with all the activities like a chess club which she runs, teaching, holiday programs managed by her, Carol affirmed: "(Laughter). It is just God's grace. It is just through prayer but sometimes I get so tired."

Cherry, a national mathematics trainer also attributed her job to the work of God. She had applied for this job as national mathematics trainer and was among 308 applicants. While she was shocked by the big number of applications, she did not give up as she explains: "I took in my application and was number 308 among the applicants. I did not give up nevertheless, knowing that if is my job, God will make a way. 12 were shortlisted and after a couple of interviews, the Lord availed me the job."

By the time Dina went to the U.S to pursue her PhD, she was still recovering from the scars of the relationship with Michel, the father of her son. She explains her struggles to manage school in a foreign country as a single mum: "I have struggled as a student parent with rent, the juggle, but we have been managed…I was fragile when I came here, but thank God for girlfriends." She recognizes God's hand in availing the friends who have got her through some tough times. She is reminded also of when her son a three year old, without insurance at the time, got sick:

> My son got sick and I remember putting him in a stroller on a very cold day, and pushing him to the pharmacy to buy Tylenol, which I administered immediately. I was so broke. I had to pay for his day care, I did not have a phone yet, coz I could not afford a plan. I sat and prayed and waited and told God that my son had to get fine. He has stabilized in terms of his health and appetite.

Dina continues to pray that God will help her build a house for her and her son to live in, when she eventually returns to Uganda after her doctorate: "I don't want to return to Kampala with a PhD and then live under bad conditions …It is all in God's hands."

In talking about her life as a struggle, Faith evokes God in mentioning her father: "My father, God bless him—he was an alcoholic—I am just understanding that it is a disease—so being an alcoholic, he was away most of the time." She also explains how God rescued her from getting raped by her sister' husband, with whom she had lived before moving in with her father.

> Oh sure....my life story has been a story I think to struggle to the top despite the odds...because there has been so many forces to keep me down…that part of the journey started out at my step sisters place and one day the guy wanted to rape me.....but my God is good kubanga I later discovered that they were HIV +ve....and are long gone.

Faith expresses gratitude to God given that she could have contracted HIV if her sister's husband had succeeded in raping her. Indeed both this man and her sister passed on from the disease.

Fida expressed gratitude to God for making it possible for her to financially support three of her late siblings' children: "I thank God because these children keep me going and I have managed to provide for them." She also asserts that it is by God's grace that she will be able to build a retirement home for herself: "I believe by God's grace that is where I will stay after I have finished here at the university. I will go back home." It is to God she has turned in the last 25 years since the separation with her husband. She continues to pray with her fellowship group that she will be reconciled with him: "When I pray with my colleagues they give examples, but you people God can reconcile anybody." She has asked God to help her forgive her husband for what went wrong in the marriage: "So from my side I said 'God help me forgive' and that has helped a lot. I have forgiven him, that is actually why we are friends…you leave it to God. He is the one who is the King." She reminisced how she had asked God to give her a car: "I remember praying to God If you can give me a car so that I can be able to take my children to school and so that I would go to the market." She was able to eventually buy a car when she went to Japan as a student. However, she realized at some point that it infuriated her husband that she had bought a car and yet he only drove a company car. This shocked her, but she left it God rather than get unruffled: "I am a Christian, I seek God. Let your will be done," she affirmed to me about this matter. She also explained that in her life, she has left so many matters in God's hands, and He has sorted out her concerns. She elaborated for example, that although she had qualified as a teacher at the university, she had not wanted to become one. God eventually got her a place in the laboratory, from where she worked her way to become dean—"God made her higher than a teacher" Fida affirmed.

In decrying the ways in which Jamila's husband spoiled her step daughter, Jamila, a Muslim woman also evoked God to help her raise her daughter to be responsible: "I pray to God for mercy and guidance that I remain tough on my daughter." She also evoked God's name in accounting for her role as mother to her step daughter: "I am doing my work since I have God to answer to. I am doing my work. I don't mistreat her. The rest is up to her she can take it up from there."

Religious traditions have often been perceived of as tools of patriarchy in some feminist critiques of religion (Exume, 2016; Madawi, 2013). Yet most of the women in my study hold on to religion as a space of possibility where they have minimal control. Spirituality is as such yet another tool the women used to propel them forward. The idea of leaving it to God—"praying to God", "accountability to God", "surrendering to God", "trusting God" which they draw on pervasively, provided a peace of mind amidst competing narratives in the women's quest to career growth through higher education. The recourse to God gave them the reins and/or some form of control to appeal to a higher power in engaging with their reality. Indeed Young, in attesting to the oppressiveness of certain religious traditions also admits, "people who might be considered powerless within a patriarchal…tradition continue to be religious in a whole host of ways in part because their particular way of being religious does not reduce it to patriarchal…manifestations"(2009, p. 510). She explains that such religious people often find empowerment in religious texts and practices.

6.5. Espousing Women through Education

In this section I provide insights into the ways in which education afforded the women to navigate gendered structures, remaking their reality in spaces where power relations were largely skewed towards men. I demonstrate that education not only afforded women the power "to speak among men," but also provided conditions through which they could straddle both public as well as private spaces, creating possibility in a cultural context where private and public spaces are largely polarized.

Bitte, currently a dean at the school of education in a university was able to directly critique what she deemed as unfair in a community where as she demonstrates, men were perceived as higher up in the social hierarchy than women. Bitte's education status gave her the "permission" to speak for other women (and get away with it), in a context in which silence is tied up with propriety as well as the ideals of a "good" woman. She covertly questioned her father for shouting at her mother: "I recognized that my mother looked helpless. My father would shout

sometimes at my mother and I was like Why? Why does he have to do this?" At such times, Bitte found spaces where she was alone with her father, directly confronting him about his treatment of her mother: "Why do you do this? I would wait when he was alone…my father would not say 'don't talk to me about this!' He would say 'Okay I have heard." Bitte proudly adds, "But I think I can comfortably say I have played the role of the boy in the home…when I say something, my brother cannot say anything." Bitte's high level of education, as a PhD holder affords her the authority to make decisions that matter—decisions which cannot be second guessed, even by her brothers.

The power in being an all-powerful girl afforded by an education is seen to slide almost into precariousness in some ways, within a patriarchal culture in which the "crown" belongs to males rather than females. As such, Bitte remains a woman within these conditions, which is why her younger brother is the heir to her late father, and as she states, "I should treat him like my father (laughter)." Bitte scoffs at the thought of according her brother the same pedestal and/or hierarchical power as the "man" within the family, and laughing, she affirms: "I don't have that time." While her education and experience have afforded her the leadership as dean within a leading institution, also affording her speaking rights in the dominantly male family, culturally, she remains a woman, and leadership within this space is a gazette for men—even younger ones. The male-female hierarchy although shackled by education, is shored up by culture, which espouses male over female. While Dr. Bitte is highly educated, well placed in society and respected by her father, he chooses her younger brother as heir. Bitte navigated this complexity of being leader-and-yet-not-*the*-leader, finding spaces in which to exercise power through making decisions as many of the women do—decisions which matter—albeit without the "crown." Evident then is that education affords women the power to be heard—such power, as Bitte explained, she has drawn on, to be a voice for her uneducated and in her words, "helpless" mother, defending her from her father's wrath.

This idea of being leader-and-yet-not-the-leader was enacted in my father's family. My father is a first born of eight children. He is a highly educated graduate agricultural economist. Aunt Mary, who comes after him is a professor and chancellor at a university in Uganda. While my father was the wealthiest for the longest of time, taking his siblings through school, he eventually lost his job, and with that, his resources dwindled, as well as his power over his siblings and parents. Aunt Mary on the other hand gained more financial strength—also gaining more power in terms of decision making within the family. Nonetheless, when my grandfather passed away, the vote for heir was between my father the first born, and another brother. The hierarchical positioning of male over female within the cultural context in Uganda is

also illuminated in the ways in which the birth of a son is valorised over daughters, and the lack of a son remains a debt for a woman (Kwesiga, 2002). It is not uncommon for a husband to have an extra marital affair in the hope of having a boy, an heir—the promise of cultural continuity. Indeed, I have witnessed the struggle of mothers known to me, to have at least one boy. While aunt Mary remains the most highly educated, with a PhD, and the most financially agile within the family, she remains a woman—leader-but-*not*-quite. Evident nevertheless is that education affords aunt Mary speaking rights to "sit among the men," finding spaces to make decisions in her family within a context where such decisions belong to the men.

By investing in educating their daughters, some of the women's fathers sought to create spaces for their daughters to enter positions of power through education, creating possibility for the women to exercise this power in patriarchal systems like marriage. Dina's father for example, realizing she was a lazy girl, encouraged her to work hard in school, well aware that education would salvage her reality in a context where laziness in a woman could be compensated for as thus. Similarly, Biru's father encouraged her to concentrate on her PhD in the U.K, rather than return to salvage her crumbling marriage, asserting: "don't tell me about that, just do the PhD, ignore everything else so you return with the PhD and then the rest will fall in line." Further, Jose's father encouraged her to leave her strained relationship with her fiancé and look after her children, reasoning that Jose is an educated woman, who can as such fend for her family. Education as such, was foregrounded by these fathers as a means by which their daughters can exercise resistance to oppressive gendered arrangements.

Yet, it is ironical that some of these fathers though intent on creating conditions for their daughters to resist oppressive gendered arrangements in their homes, left their own power and privilege as head of home intact, clutching on to their patriarchal dividend (Connell, 2008). Although Biru's father for example, encouraged her to concentrate on her PhD rather then get derailed by the polygamous marriage when her husband got another woman, he on the other hand remained polygamous. Further still, while Bitte's father paid heed to her when she talked to him against shouting at her mother, letting Bitte talk to him as an equal, he did not accord his wife the same speaking rights as he did his daughter. Some of these women's fathers as such, espoused themselves over their own wives holding on I would argue, to their patriarchal dividend thereby reproducing hierarchical gender relations, which ironically, they attempted to erase by educating their daughters.

This notwithstanding, education was indeed a rallying point of power for both the women and their educated mothers, affording them the space to exercise power within their homes, in ways that eluded their uneducated counterparts. Carol, a mother of three whose husband is a marketer at a leading telecom company has combined her

teaching at a secondary school with different money-making ventures such as running a bridal, as well as a chess holiday program. Professor Musta adopted her siblings, taking on the responsibility to fend for and put them through school. She also supports her family, which is evident from the ways in which she nursed her mother who later died of cancer. Sr. Lucretia, not only contributes financially to the congregation in which she belongs, but also supports her parents given that her brothers, who had initially supported them all passed away. Dina, a PhD student in the U.S, has been a single mother since her son was born. She has paid school fees, rent and provided for her son as well as taken care of her mother, nieces and nephews for whom she pays tuition from her salary as a lecturer at a university. She also supplemented this income, running a second hand clothes shop. Faith, also a single mother of two children, has supported her children on her own, following strained relationships with both their fathers.

Some of the women explicitly affirmed that their pursuit of further studies is linked to improved job prospects, which would benefit their families. Jamila for example got her current full time job in the bank because of the ACCA qualification. She intends to pursue a postgraduate degree in order to improve her job prospects. This is resounded by Jose, Jenny and I, who see the PhD as providing possibility to benefit us as well as our families. Additionally, Carol sees further education as a way of inspiring her children: "I don't want to give up on my dream to do a PhD because if mommy is focused and you know, then the children will be inspired."

Like their daughters, the women's mothers found agency in education, which afforded them the means to fend for their own families. Faith's mother, a primary school teacher, left her alcoholic husband, and was able to fend for her children as a single mother. The children benefitted from her position as a teacher in that she could negotiate for extended periods in which to pay their school fees, given that they were students within the school where she taught. Cherry's mother a retired banker worked hand in hand with her husband, a teacher, to put "bread" on the table. Dina's mother, in charge of nurses at a hospital and separated with her father, managed her home providing for her children who stayed with her sometimes. My late mother, a banker also paid my tuition as well as my brother's before my father picked me up at about 6 years to go and live with him. She continued to visit me at school, providing my needs in ways that left a huge gap when she later passed on.

I did not live with my mother as she gave me up to live with my father, who was wealthy and powerful at the time. Indeed, some of the women in my study such as Jose, Caro, Dina, and Becky spent most of their lives with their fathers. As a culturally recognized seat of power, the women's mothers in these narratives allowed father's power to reign—albeit at their expenses in some cases, in extending

educational opportunities for their daughters. In using my own life as a lens, I realize, as a mother myself, that in giving me up, my mother exercised her agency within an oppressive patriarchal structure, in order to guarantee my education, and the power imbued therein, given my father's social status at the time.

On the whole, while education did not erase the power embodied in men and/or boys within a culture that valorises them, it espoused women in ways that provided a space for them to negotiate their reality—making decisions, improving job financial prospects, and inspiring their children. The possibility of taking on work in public spaces in order to fend for their families disturbed traditional narratives that essentialise women and men's roles. Women as such could straddle both public spaces in their professional roles, and also attend to the private, nurturing their families. This has been problematized for the "double shift" placed on women, who end up working full-time job at work and in the home, leaving gendered power relations intact. Yet, at the same time, it creates a space in which women do not just fit into male structures—to become just like men—work-oriented, and free from child care responsibilities (Connell, 2008). Rather in straddling both the public and private, women find a space to remake a work culture, creating possibility that engenders the things that matter to them, such as their families, and as such dissipating the guilt that women have registered for neglecting their children (Beasley, 1999).

6.6. Disturbing the Marriage-above-all-else-script

In this section, I focus on stories demonstrating the ways in which the women in my study negotiated the valorisation of marriage in a context in which higher education, while deemed a requirement for women, is also considered a threat to their key role as nurturers and wives (Kwesiga, 2002; Lang, 2010; Limoncelli, 2010; Mbamanya, 1989). The women struggled over the marriage-above-all-else script by questioning the valorisation of marriage, passing off as married/holding on to marital "dividend", and diming their light.

6.6.1. Questioning the Valorisation of Marriage

As young women of about 23 years and fresh out of the university, it was exciting to attend our first bridal shower for a friend who was getting married. We bought gifts for the bride and met her at a cosy rendezvous in Kampala city. After moments of charting and exchanging gifts, it was time for the "ssenga session." Traditionally a "ssenga" or one' s paternal aunt was obligated to prepare girls and later women for marriage. The ssenga was tasked with revealing both practical and

sexual secrets to hooking a man and keeping the marriage intact (Sserembe, 2012; Tamale, 2005).

Brandy was outraged as were many of the girls during this session, as the ssenga solely capitalized on how the bride should submissively please her husband-to-be, completely disregarding her own needs. The kind of husband-treatment described could, in my imagination at the time, be equated to how kings were treated. I remember Fifi, one of the girls asking the ssenga: "Who are those special men—so deserving of royalty treatment, and where can we find them?" Brandy questioned the injustice in the burden on women in marriage, which is not the same for men:

> What the hell? I did not hear any justice; I did not hear any equal footing…I felt actually cheated. I felt our parents lied to us…because they emphasized a very equal society, women can do anything they set their minds to…You can do engineering you will do great and when I am finally done, this is now the next phase? Where I leave my degree outside, you do not talk to the man, you don't say anything, you don't do what…he is the king, you do not answer back…All along you said I was equal to these people…now you are changing your narrative so that I can be married? Eh ok. And how many people has marriage benefitted?

In pointing out the injustice in the burden on women in marriage, Brandy questioned how her parents could have promised an equal world, only to find the sham in which you have to "leave your degree outside" in order to play submissive and/or good wife. This illuminates the competing discourses which engulf women—interpellating girls to do it all as embodied in girl power discourses (Charles, 2010; Gill, 2007; Harris, 2004), while leaving extant debilitating power relations intact.

The submissiveness expected of women is implicated in the pervasive taming of young women into lady-like behaviour, reflected in dress and comportment and/or demeanour. Indeed, "deviants" like Brandy with her outspoken, stubborn, opinionated and self-confident self, risked failure to succeed as a married woman, and was as such, continually reminded as a young girl to step back in line. Brandy has heard comments in regard to her character which question her potentiality as a good wife: "Women that are educated do not listen, they are wise-acred, *weepanka*, they know it all." Brandy's character, coupled with her high achievement automatically disqualifie her as "good marriage material…It was bad enough to be an outspoken child, and worse still an outspoken girl" as Brandy languished. She also intimated that the ways in which she relates with her father—talking directly to him, debating with him—could be construed as disrespectful for certain people within the Ugandan society. All this has made her hyper aware that she does not fit in:

> I learnt very quickly what discussions I can have and what discussions I would listen to…I learned to keep quiet…and that strangely has also been my experience in relationships. When I was dating a Muganda man, we focused so much on my behaviour and what my behaviour meant and whether it translated into respect for him. That is too much work for me, it was always too much work.

Brandy resolved to be silent when she knew her divergent opinion would create friction. This she carried over even in her relationship with a Muganda boyfriend, who constantly read her behaviour as disrespectful to him as a man. Resisting the seduction of narratives within the Ugandan context which pressurize women to get married regardless of whom they marry, Brandy recognized that marriage to this ex-boyfriend would have been burdensome: "It was always too much work for me" she affirmed. Brandy would want a partner who is supportive of her progress: "I need to be able to respect my man so if you can't even understand my potential then I don't know whether we would have survived beyond the dating stage."

Like Brandy, Jose, who identified as a tomboy when she was younger, was punitively disciplined into giving up climbing of trees, talking back to adults or looking them straight in the eyes—mannerisms traditionally perceived as signs of impropriety especially for girls within the Ugandan context. Jose admits that as an adult, she is now a rather quiet and reserved woman, so afraid to speak that she holds back even when she is itching to say something, wondering what people would think if she spoke her mind. There is something about catholic schools as she explains, "they want to humble us like the nuns. They expect us to be humble, quiet, holy—you are always in the backseat and then you let others trample over you. That is being a proper girl (sarcasm)." She is critical of norms that reduce propriety for girls to specific paralyzing ideals, accusing catholic schools, which embody such norms, for depriving children from learning the sort of assertiveness that she has seen in girls from Gayaza High School, who were always encouraged to speak out regardless of how it came out. This silencing in her former school she complained, meant that the girls were afraid to speak for themselves even in the face of harassment: "Even when you felt someone was harassing or mistreating you, you were supposed to take it in a humble way." She decries the ways in which those kinds of restrictive environments serve to stifle children's personalities and character. There are times when people have trampled all over Jose, and she has let them, reminding herself: "keep the peace, be that humble, be that submissive person you know." Looking back, Jose wishes she had been given the opportunity to be herself: "How I wish I had been given the freedom to speak back to people because sometimes it makes you feel good about yourself."

This notwithstanding, she acknowledges that the idea propagated by the nuns that "when you are slapped on one cheek put the other one too," has been a survival tool in her marriage where she "Just let things be." This meekness she explains, has helped the survival of her marriage: "I think we would not have survived. Sometimes he does things where you feel onjikiriza (provocation) but then that voice keeps saying, tone it down, just let it be." Rather than face off with her husband risking her serenity in a context where marriage is important, and is indeed important to Jose, she explains that deploying silence has worked for her in holding the reigns to ensure peace in what could have exploded into a gruesome fight with her husband, in a context where head-on resistance by a wife in marriage would serve but to ostracize her.

Preparation to enact good wife involves learning how to do household chores. Carol's father always highlighted marriage in teaching the girls in his house to do household chores: "You girls have to learn all this because when you get married…" This had raised questions in Carol's mind: "where does my dad get all these things, telling me about marriage when I am like 13 years?...Does he want us to chase us? Does he want us to leave his home or what?" Although Carol questioned the valorisation of marriage as a young girl, she affirmed however, that she learned so much from this engagement with household chores, which has helped her in doing the work in her own home especially when her maids are away. She recognizes however, that although she listened to the narratives in preparation for marriage, she is not always able to implement all of them: "When you are getting married you are told to wake up before your husband, prepare breakfast, make sure when he wakes up, breakfast is at the table." Although she sometimes wakes up at 6:00 a.m. and ensures her husband's breakfast is at table before he awakes, she is not consistent in this. Carol employs a maid to help her with most domestic chores but believes that because Baganda men like her husband are extremely traditional, they expect certain roles to be performed for them by their wives rather than the maid. Carol gets satisfaction and/or derives agency from fulfilling these domestic roles, perceived of as her responsibility, thereby keeping her marriage together.

Rather than teach Biru how to perform household chores, her stepmother, a strong and hardworking woman, did most of the work herself. As such, Biru did not learn how to cook, and in fact was not interested in cooking. She was more interested in cleaning up and organizing, which she is happy to do even today. She vividly recollects visiting her own mother who loved gardening. Biru's mother threatened that if she did not learn how to garden, she would struggle in future when she got married. Biru had sternly assured her mother that she would never get married to such a man: "I told her I would only get married to a man who works in an office and leaves in

Kampala!" Biru had as such defined the conditions that would determine her marital arrangements, troubling the marriage-above-all-else-script.

As opposed to propagating the "good" wife must-dos, Sr. Cosmos, a nun and teacher in the affluent secondary school Brandy and I attended, told us to pray for our husbands: "Pray that they read the right books, make the right friends, go through the right experiences to be baked right—to be good for you." I actually said this prayer from about 18 years of age, asking God to give me a man that would understand me. Years after I was married to Andrew, a great man, we bumped into Sr. Cosmas. I was quick to take him to meet her, thanking her for that prayer that I believe was answered in Andrew. I have continued to say this prayer for my son and my daughters' future spouses. Indeed on my former classmates' what's App group forum, we recently discussed this prayer in fondly reminiscing Sr. Cosmos' impact on our lives. I was surprised that most of the girls remembered and had said this prayer for husbands who would understand them. Sr. Cosmas' narrative goes against the dominant script that requires women to get into marital arrangements in which they serve to please the man, disregarding their own needs. The idea of partnership in marriage where both needs of male and female matter, is made intelligible in this prayer, which creates a space in which women can envision a possibility for marriage in which their potential spouse is baked right for them, rather than pervasive narratives in which women have to make all the adjustments to meet their husband's needs.

Brandy, a 37-year-old aviation engineer and part-time lecturer at a university, who was also in Sr. Cosmos's class, has been in a relationship with Jerry for about 13 years now. She wants to have a family and children but adds that the dynamics are complicated, and she is taking it a day at a time, recognizing as she intimated to me, that she is not in control: "I know I am not in control. I do what makes me happy. What God wants for me, He will give me. All in good time." Brandy suggests that she is answerable to God, rather than the tormentors, adding that not "everybody was given the gift to be a wife. I think it is a box in the rite of passage that everybody feels they have to go through because of the society that we live in. I don't think it is what God meant for everybody." Affirming that God has given her so much, she asserts that she would not drown herself in sadness over something that she has no control over. Brandy has reprimanded her mother:

> You keep telling us to pray to God, you raised us to be children of faith and to pray for God's will. Now you want me to use human intervention. If time is going by let it go! But I am not going to be dragged because I have seen what it does to women. I do not want to walk backwards. I cannot wait all this time to do worse off than I am now

Brandy refused to "settle" so as to tick the marriage-children-achievement-box, choosing to wait on God for a partner that she feels is right for her. She has told her parents time and again, that while she understands their love for her to get married, they should stop selling the idea of marriage to her because they themselves know marriage is not rosy: "When I was 20 may be. Now? No! I am sorry!" One of her biggest concerns with marriage in Uganda is that the measure for a great marriage is longevity: "how long you have been married rather than how happy you are…And, also, how much crap you have taken?" Citing Mesach Semakula's "*Abakyala abaguma",* a common song played at weddings, which celebrates the good wife as one who weathers the storms in her marriage, she questioned this measure of marriage. The bride at one wedding she attended had been in the relationship with the groom for about 15 years in waiting for the man to marry her. This bride received a standing ovation for persevering through hardship, in order to receive what Brandy referred to as her "crowning glory."

Brandy has some aunts who worked really hard to get married, only for their husbands to abandon them with children whom they are unable to support, making the children, in Brandy's words, "everybody's business." She explains "while some women get it right in marriage, for others it is a raw deal." Brandy chose to resist the rush into marriage an all-important rite of passage for women in Uganda, vowing to get married and have children but on her terms:

> But I am not having children outside of marriage…that one I am not doing…I am not going to try to…be the mother and the father…for me that is the spiritual side of me…I don't want to raise a "Why me" child and the reason they are "Why me" is something I did…I will adopt when I am 45. I will adopt.

She intends to have children only in wedlock, because she believes it would be unfair to the children, and also selfish of her to bring them into the world in a broken and/or fatherless home, where she would then have to compensate by performing both the role as mother and father. She is concerned that this scenario could affect the self-esteem of the children. As such, disregarding the pressure from society, she is resolute to have children after she is married or adopt after the age of 45 years.

Brandy's story resounds Professor Musta's own resistance to pressures for her to get married. She had to choose between career and marriage to her fiancé, whom she had left in Uganda to pursue her doctoral program in the U.K: "We were very close. If it had not been because of career—I was torn—Should I run home, get married? But what about my career? You know?" When she finished the doctorate, it became unpredictable as to when she would return home, as Idi Amin's regime at the time continued to clamp down on students who had gone abroad to study suspecting

them of colluding with Obote whom Amin had overthrown to become president. When Professor Musta eventually returned to Uganda, her former fiancé wanted to resume the relationship and marry her, as he had not wedded the mother of his children. She rejected his proposal appealing to him to be fair and marry the mother of his children: "No, you have a family now. You had better go ahead and marry her; it's only fair. Really I cannot come in and takeover a family and separate children from their father." He stuck around despite her constant rejection. He eventually got frustrated, left his family and even became an alcoholic, eventually driving into a trailer on one drunken night, dying on the spot. Before her return to Uganda, Professor Musta had turned down marriage proposals from non-Ugandans, believing they would not understand her family burden in a home where she was the main financier: "This situation would be too complicated. So I decided not to get involved with any foreigner." This way, she was in more control in dedicating her time and resources to care for her siblings.

Faith, a mother of two, and lecturer and PhD graduate recognizes that her age and qualifications could act as deterrents, especially in Uganda, where there is so much prejudice against older and highly qualified women: "my age and level of education in Uganda is a problem." Faith has been blamed for her academic advancement: "mwe muna manya, kakati, mwe mwali musoma byaki?" meaning, "You will have to figure it out, why did you have to study so much?" Regardless of how much a woman has achieved according to Faith, in Uganda, she is considered a failure if she is not married: "I think you should be able to tell your children to look up to me, and I should be able to inspire your children!" she explained. To the contrary, in scolding her daughter, one of Faith's cousins had retorted: "mwe mwagala kubera nga mama wamwe oli, atafumbirwa"(do you want to be like your aunt who did not get married?"). Faith is critical that because of the valorisation of marriage in her society, she has become an object of ridicule rather than a role model.

Albeit the valorisation of marriage, it was the furthest from Bitte's mind: "Because even when I had my boyfriend it didn't occur to me that I was getting a boy who I was going to marry." Bitte, currently a dean within a school of education, met her husband when she was in secondary school, and although they dated even at the university, she did not think much about marriage: "I was not so much thinking about marriage but for him at that time he was thinking about marriage but I was like I don't think I am ready to marry." Bitte knew one thing for sure: "I always wanted to do things for myself …I wanted him to actually see that I could live and survive without relying on him…I didn't want him to think that without him, I couldn't survive." Rather than pick a husband selectively, who is financially astute enough, as many girls within Buganda region of Uganda have traditionally been taught, Bitte, a woman from

northern Uganda was more invested in attaining her own financial independence. As such Bitte not only unsettles narratives in which marriage is a key aspiration for all women (and not men), but she also transgresses the norm in which men are prepared to be the bread winners, preparing herself instead to be an independent woman, rather than depend on her husband for her needs. She also defined her terms around this, vying to get married when she had achieved some form of independence.

Further, Sr. Lucretia unsettled norms of universal marriage by refusing to get married or have children, choosing celibacy as a nun in a catholic congregation. This troubled her mother, who I would argue mourned the loss of possibility—of children, of a home—when she tried to resist Sr. Lucretia's choice to join the convent, even breaking down in tears throughout Sr. Lucretia's thanksgiving mass. Sr. Lucretia as well as other single women within my study, who had resisted marriage in some form, could be described as "affect aliens," a phrase used by Ahmed to describe "one who converts good feelings into bad, who as it were 'kills' the joys" (2010, 49) by being "misaligned" with others and/or *not* "facing the right way" (Ahmed, 2010, 45)—by in this case not conforming by ticking the marriage-children-achievement-box.

As part of preparation for marriage, labia elongation, a dominant cultural practice across the narratives of the women, was one of the ways of preparing a good wife to sexually gratify her husband. This practice, traditionally relegated to the ssengas within the woman's community, has now shifted beyond the child's immediate family. For most of the women in my study, it was introduced to them at school. The matron in Cherry's school for example, pulled her without even getting her consent: "I went to boarding school for only one term in P.1, but I do remember vividly, the matron coming to our beds and doing that stuff to us without even asking. I remember she did it to me. And it hurts!" This also happened to a couple of the girls such as Brenda and Biru. Some of the women, like Biru, Faith, Brandy and Cherry rejected this practice, which for some was too painful, and for others incomprehensible.

> Cherry: I remember she did it to me. And it hurts! I then came to urban schools where it was not talked about. It came up in Namagunga among peers but we rubbished it. I am sure my mother would have rubbished it. My mum is a staunch Christian, so a lot of that cultural stuff she is unfamiliar with.
>
> Biru: When I got home, my aunt took me to the bathroom and pulled me. I screamed and everybody gathered around the bathroom. I told my aunt I wouldn't do it and that I would report her.
>
> Faith: But for me I always though kubanga mama takingambye (because mum did not tell me about it), then it is useless, so I ignored it, although it.

In rejecting this practice, some of these women exercised power, resisting cultural practices which are arguably a "linchpin of African women's subordinated status and the single most important obstacle to their emancipation"(Geisler, 2000, p. 57). Yet some women like Jenny, Tino, Carol and Jose did not focus on the pain, only divulging information that they had undergone the practice. Jamila's friend Hajara, attested the pain involved in the practice had been worth it as she is married to a traditional muganda man, and has a great marriage. The practice was traditionally meant to enhance a man's as well as a woman's sexual pleasure, and in that sense, is agentic. However, this seems to have shifted and emphasis put on pleasing the man, which is why some of the women in my study were sceptical about doing it in case their partner loathed it. As Tino explains for example:

> It reminds me of stories like on Mama Tendo What's App group forum, where women have appealed for help, when they found that they had put time into pulling, only to get married to a man who loathes it—"he told me to chop them!"

I am a member of the Mama Tendo What's App group which Tino references here, and I have personally read appeals from women who have pulled, asking for advice on how to get rid of the elongated labia, which some spouses have told them to surgically remove. Indeed, Cherry in talking to her students, advised against engaging in the practice because of peer pressure, also reasoning that it is not what makes a good marriage and could expose them to sexually transmitted diseases:

> I have had opportunities to talk to girls, advising them not to just do it because everyone is, but to return to their specific cultures to find out what it says. I have also warned them of the possibility of transmitting sexually transmitted diseases. I have also told them that pulling is not what makes a good marriage. It also depends on the culture you marry into, and in fact some cultures do not even like them, and might tell you to remove them surgically.

The mixed perceptions over this cultural practice illuminated the controversy in many African countries in regard to which traditions are useful and which ones obsolete (Geisler, 2000; Tamale, 2011). This shift from investments in a woman's sexual pleasure to emphasis on the man's is indeed debilitating in some ways. It is problematic in the sense that it imposes a hierarchy, legitimating men's sexual gratification over women's. Yet, in a culture where a woman derives some power in her status as a married woman able to "please" and keep her husband sexually satisfied, this practice could be one of the ways of exercising her agency, within cultural spaces where women's power is imbued *not* in their sexual desire, but in their sexual desirab*ility* and prowess to satisfy. While I recognize this as agency, I am

cognizant that it also creates conditions (albeit problematically), in which women exercise some control over the men. This notwithstanding the conditions that re-inscribe a hierarchy in which men's sexual needs are prioritized over women's beg interrogation.

The women's narratives also illuminate their agency in making and remaking their traditions, which in this sense gives them some form of control over their transition into womanhood. The role of the ssenga, traditionally the girl's paternal aunt, who was obligated to prepare her for marriage, has shifted from the privacy and secrecy within the home to public spaces in schools as well as commercial spaces. As problematic as this might be in its entanglements with capitalism, it exonerates some women and/or paternal aunts from engaging with sexuality which many struggle to talk about within African settings where it is shrouded in silencing and taboos (Tamale, 2011). Most of the girls, who learnt about labia elongation at home are explicit about the awkwardness in talking about, and enacting the practice at home. At home during the holiday, Brenda's grandmother had first "beat about the bush" asking her about school, before finding the courage to pose the question: "You know there are some things you have to do as a woman…did you do the things?" When Brenda replied that she had done this in school, her grandmother signed in relief. The opportunity for Brenda's mother to check her in this regard came when Brenda fell very ill. Her mother, who suspected that Brenda had had an abortion, given that she was very anaemic, had to wash her since she was very weak. It was when she was washing Brenda that she checked to see and, as Brenda affirmed: "Mum was so relieved. I could feel it!" Jenny's aunt, afraid to talk about it with her, strategically sent her to the village during a holiday when she knew Jenny's peers would be available. This is when she was initiated into the practice.

The bridal shower described earlier, which is a Western import, has been used as a space for ssengas to give the bride-to-be and her friends the last tips before the wedding. This space, free of some cultural encumbrances has provided conditions for women to take up their agency, questioning and pushing back on cultural practices they read as oppressive. This is demonstrated through the myriad of critical questions raised by the women who attended the bridal shower already described. Indeed, remaking of cultural practices to fit women's desires is expressed in the proliferation of "modern" ssenga in Uganda today. I recently attended a bridal shower in which the modern ssenga advised women to make their money work for them, rather than push over backwards with all the house chores when they can hire a maid to perform some of them. This is one of the ways some women have used their agency to remake cultural practices in ways that work for them, making it possible to straddle public and private spaces in this modern age. It is interesting that women are traditionally

initiated into womanhood by other women largely in service of future husbands. This substantiates Geisler's assertion that indeed, "African women have sometimes appeared as the custodians of tradition and thus the agents of their own subordination" (2000, P. 57). Yet, there is agency in the role they play in regulating their own sexuality, and as the women's narratives in this study have demonstrated, in remaking these practices to suit them.

On the whole, ideals of a "good" wife in Uganda, bound up with docility and passiveness, evoke and re-inscribe gendered power relations to ensure men's control and regulation of women as the head of the family. The valorisation of marriage in Uganda produces it as a primary in informing and shaping societal trajectories, specifically in regard to women in Uganda (Atekyereza, 2001; Kwesiga, 2002). Yet some of the women resist the urgency of societal pressure to enact this norm. Rather than passively take up scripts that interpellated girls to become "good" wives, some women raised questions interrogating the burden of subservience placed on women in marriage, which is not required of men. Notions of propriety were also exposed for stifling women's personalities, producing meek subjectivities, to be controlled within hierarchical marriage arrangements where men must take the lead. As such opinionated, confident, highly educated, "unladylike" women misalign with the script of good marriage material and have to be tamed in order to realign them.

In addition to interrogating such "taming" narratives, some of the women resisted the conformist disciplinary power by use of silence as form of resistance. Brandy deployed silence, exonerating her from participation in what she felt were detrimental conversations. Jose also took to silence, which not only gives the impression of performing good wife, but has been as she put it "a survival tool" within her marriage, giving her the reigns to ensure peace. Silence for women especially in a Ugandan context, is a cultural thing—a product I would argue of our patriarchal cultures that construct a good girl in specific ways. While such cultures indeed gag girls, it does not follow that this silence implies complicity to gender arrangements. Silence in regard to Brandy for example, also involved an engagement with, and, rejection with/or covert resistance to gender norms. This reading of silence as a form of resistance within contexts where in fact voice might be dis-enabling, is linked to a body of post-structural scholarship that troubles the privileging of voice over silence (Baxter, 2003; Boler, 2004; McClure, Jones, Holmes, & MacRae, 2010; Ropers-Huilman, 1998). This work calls for an engagement with, and understanding of silence within specific contexts. Indeed, silence has been historically deployed by African women as resistance. Obbo (1976) gives examples of Zande women who used silence to veto plans to move sites by making no preparations to move despite the men's authority to make this decision. The Tallensi from Ghana also got too busy to attend

to their men's needs or too busy to cook if the men did not keep on good terms with them. Nonetheless, this reading of silence within my findings as resistance, should not foreclose the interrogation of power structures which "impose" silence as the most "safe" means of resistance.

Further, using counter-narratives illuminating the realities in some Ugandan marriages, some women questioned the valorisation of marriage above all else, vying to get married on their terms. Rather than just settle—ticking the-marriage-achievement-box regardless of what is in the box, some of the women resisted the pressure to rush into marriage, unsettling the norm which produces marriage as key for women in both Uganda (Atekyereza, 2001), and elsewhere in the world (Sunderland, 2004). Indeed, suspending marriage in order to pursue her career, rejecting pervasive polygamous marital arrangements and waiting on God for the right spouse, some women disrupted narratives that posit marriage as very important for women above all else.

The resistance to the valorisation of marriage notwithstanding, the women affirm that they intend to get married and have children. They recognize deterrents such as high qualifications and age in a cultural context in which older and more qualified woman threaten the hierarchy within marriage, where men are "supposed" to domineer. In yearning to get married, the women reproduce the traditional script of women's desire to get married. However, they modify this script illuminating the desire to get married *but* on their terms. Brandy for example, would only get married to a man who respects her dreams, Professor Musta to a Ugandan who would understand her family obligations, Biru to one who would not require her to garden and Bitte when she was financially independent enough. This appropriation of the dominant traditional narrative accentuates their agency. In sum, agency in resisting the valorisation of marriage in Uganda was found in interrogating the universal marriage script, the use of counter-narratives to unsettle the script, silence and prayer.

6.6.2. Holding on to "Marital Dividend"

The coinage of "marital dividend" is derived from Connell (2008)'s phrase "patriarchal dividend", which he uses to illuminate the privileges bestowed on men *as a group* by virtue of maleness. The marital dividend evokes the idea of the advantages women *as a group* enjoy by virtue of their status as married rather than single women, in Uganda, where marriage is a measure of success, which is culturally valued above all else especially for women (Kwesiga, 2002; Lang, 2010). The marital dividend is the benefit to married as a group, recognising that individual women may get more of it than others depending on their marital conditions. In this section, I provide insights into the ways in which some women partake of the marital dividend, using marriage

as a launch-pad to straddle both public and private spaces, achieving higher education and career in a context where marriage dominantly holds many "back." I also illuminate how women, well aware of the power in imbued in the status of marriage, continue to pass off as married even when their marriages break down, in order to continue partaking of the marital dividend.

Ticking the marriage-children-achievement-box has largely espoused some of the women earning them as well as their families the marital dividend and/or respect and admiration attached to marriage within the Ugandan context. Some of the women as elaborated in chapter 4 attained higher education through garnering support from their husbands, who remained home to mind the children. This role reversal, which goes against the normative grain in Uganda is a disruption of traditional gender roles. It is interesting nonetheless, that in taking on the care of home and children, the husbands just "sit in" for the wife. As such, theirs is a "helping" and/or temporary role to be performed and handed back to the "permanent staff" on her return, re-inscribing gendered roles discourses. This notwithstanding, agency manifests in negotiating power structures using the power at hand to create possibility.

Most of the women employ maids whom they pay a salary from their own incomes, to help with the domestic chores. Gloria and her fiancé have a maid who does all the work in the home, creating space for her to pursue her doctoral studies as well as teach at the university unencumbered by the household chores. As Gloria asserts: "When I go home, I do not cook, clean or wash. I have a maid to do all that—I just get to read my books and do my work. I just have to take care of my bedroom… He knows I am doing my PhD and does not believe I should spend my time doing chores." Nonetheless, Gloria has to take care of her bedroom, which is a minimum required of a good wife within more liberal Ugandan marital settings, because the couple's bedroom is perceived of as sacred in some way. While a woman within the Ugandan setting could get away with a maid doing all the tasks of care in the home, she would be heaped with criticism if the maid cleaned her bedroom. This reproduces the discourse of marriage as very important to women who have to "guard" their marital bed, and protect it from intrusion by another woman. While the presence of a maid, which is a common practice in Ugandan homes allows for women to participate in public spaces, giving them agency in that sense to straddle both private and public spaces, it also threatens their marriages.

For some of the women however, marriage has positioned them into precariousness as narratives like Fida, Cherry, Jamila, Jose and Biru demonstrate. Nonetheless, some of these women continue to hold onto their marriages recognizing the power imbued therein. Fida, a dean within the physics department talks about the struggles within marriage in which she implies there was a lack of respect for her as a

wife. Fida separated with her husband because of his extra marital relationships, resisting dominant discourses in Uganda, which require a woman to keep her marriage regardless of the hardships therein. Indeed, unfaithfulness as enacted by men is traditionally perceived of as a flimsy reason for a woman to leave her husband. Although he made attempts to get back with her, which she had accepted, she retracted her acceptance when he refused to discuss his position about the woman he had been living with during their separation. In this sense, Fida went against the grain, in some way unsettling discourses that produce marriage as more important for women than all else. Yet, while they have been separated for 23 years, and, the husband has children with another woman, Fida carries on as if they are still in a functional marriage. Indeed, most people think that they live separately because he works upcountry and she in the city at the university. In fact, when he won elections as Member of Parliament in President Museveni's government, she received congratulatory messages from friends and family on his behalf. She as such has found space to indulge in the power that marriage affords women in Uganda, while at the same time resisting polygamous living arrangements. However, as a born again Christian for whom divorce is biblically unacceptable, Fida and her Christian fellowship group continue to pray for the reconciliation of the marriage, reasoning that God can reconcile anybody.

Jamila, a banker and part time lecturer of mathematics at the university has been married for close to 8 years. Jamila explains that she did not believe in witchcraft until her husband, whom she had dated for 1 year and 8 months changed his ways after their wedding. She recollects how she received an anonymous call from another woman after her wedding informing her, "since we are Moslems, we are now co-wives." Her husband used to listen to her advice, which currently falls on deaf ears in regard to how to raise her stepdaughter for example. Although Jamila insisted that they reduce the amount of shopping for her until she improved her grades, she later found out that her husband did huge shopping and even sent more pocket money behind Jamila's back, even though the girl had been visited on the school visiting days. Her husband is also more invested in making money, and does not spend time with her at all. She asserts, "when you get married, you sort of throw out your friends…unfortunately the person you want to bond with is always out there and you are left alone with the kids." Jamila is lonely and "invisible" to her husband: "All this time you are trying to get this acknowledgement like you want that person to acknowledge you and appreciate you but it is not happening." She continues to stay in this unhappy marriage holding on to the positive: "I am not going to dwell on the negatives; they suck the life out of you. I will focus on my life and move on and let him catch up when he is ready." Jamila has created a space to stay in this marriage

resolving that although she needs her husband, her life should not revolve around him. She resolved to stop trying, recognizing that her husband has to want her companionship at his own free volition: "I don't feature in his life but I am okay." She eventually stopped wearing the wedding ring after 3 years, as she explains: "He has never worn his, why should I?" In the act of taking off the wedding ring as had her husband, Jamila defies norms that create an uneven ground for men and women in marriage. This notwithstanding, she continues to pass off as a married woman especially in public spaces. Jamila also explains that one of the reasons she has stayed in this marriage is because he provides for all her needs in the home. While this reproduces men's role as breadwinner, it provides some control for Jamila to ensure that her family is catered for in a country where the economic situation is hard pressing.

When Biru was abroad, her husband got another woman, and even had a child with her. This got her into a depression for which she sought counselling. She came to her senses though, realizing her depression could cost her the PhD. When she completed her PhD, she had planned to returned to Uganda and move out of her marital home and into her own house: "I planned that when I returned I would move on…I decided to stay because I did not want to destabilize my children…I will just stay." Rather than live her marital home to care for her children as a single mother, Biru has chosen to continue living with her husband for the sake of her children's stability in a home with both parents. This notwithstanding, her husband has continued to see the other woman, spending days on end without returning home which according to Biru, was painful. She has coped with this by finding peace:

> Eventually I made peace…I am working with the positives, my children are okay, especially the young one. But I will be moving out with time. I have built my own house. Right now I am trying to catch up with the children. The funny thing he still insists that he loves me. But I can't work it out how one can cheat and still loves you. Some people think that men are to be shared and that since he comes back home to see, and that is enough

Biru's focus is on her children's well-being so that she can catch up with them since she has been away for a while. While motherhood has been produced as disempowering for women, yet some of the women in my study see it as a powerful and fulfilling position—albeit the reproduction of women's traditional role as nurturers. Biru as such, has ridden on the idea of mothering her children, which she refers to as positive—reason enough for her to stay in the marriage, well aware that she will move out into her own house. In spite of staying in a marriage with an unfaithful partner, Biru has some control. Rejecting narratives that men are to be

shared, which posit unfaithfulness as too flimsy for her to leave the marriage, Biru resolved that she would move out into her own house when she is ready.

In getting married to her husband, Cherry thought she had found someone who would share her life in the way her parents have lovingly shared theirs. She was surprised however, when she found out that her husband had had two children with different mothers. Given that her job requires her to stay in the city during the week, Cherry moved out and spends most of the time with her children in the city. Cherry has coped with this by keeping herself very busy as a way to cope with the personal problems in her life: "I bake wedding cakes. I also go out to talk to people about math. I have a shop in the trading centre which deals in women's products. I have also been doing my masters." This notwithstanding, Cherry has not told her parents or friends about the break in her marriage. She continues to carry on as if all is well, commuting to Jinja once in a while, and even paying the bills and giving money to her husband, a biology teacher who is currently unemployed.

On the whole, women found agency in their marital dividend, using it as a launch pad to straddle both private and public spaces. Some of the women, recognizing the power attached to marriage in Uganda, held on to their marital dividend even when their marriages were dysfunctional. In passing off as married women, some of the women could keep their children in two-parent homes, giving them the stability that this idea evokes. Also guaranteed for one of the women was financial security for her children, in a country where the economy is strained. While this reproduces the polarizing of gender roles, and the gender relations that stem from this, it is a crevice of agency through which the women deploy the power available to them—problematic as it might be, to espouse their children's reality. In a context where, as already belaboured, children's failure is attributed to women's parenting, these women find agency in ensuring the well-being of their families, contrary to discourses which produce motherhood as inherently oppressive and exploitative for women (Beasley, 1999) .

In taking on the reins of power within a precarious situation, the women make use of specific coping strategies, such as interrogating their circumstances, holding on to the positive such as the wellbeing of their children, keeping themselves busy, and praying to God. Nonetheless, the women want their marriages to work out, but on their terms—in monogamous rather than polygamous marital arrangements. However, because this seems to elude them, they continue to pass off as married to serve their children's interests, also recognizing that infidelity within the Ugandan context is trivialized as a reason for divorce. Passing off as married then removes the stigma that comes with the shame for having failed to keep her marriage—squarely a woman's responsibility. It also makes it possible for women to enjoy the marital dividend.

6.6.3. Dimming your light

Hierarchical relations in marriage which create conditions making possible the regulation of women by men, are threatened when women attain higher education. This risks destabilizing the home, in which men are supposed to wield more power. Women are as such discouraged from investing in higher education before marriage, as it reduces their chances of finding husbands, due to pervasive constructions of highly educated women as out-of-control. The promise of dimming their light averts the risk of outshining their husbands, also re-assuring them that they would remain submissive wives even with higher qualifications. It is through such re-assurances that women have garnered support from their husbands, who have, against the grain of society let them pursue higher education. In this section, I provide insights into how the women remade their reality in this regard.

Jenny had been warned about the difficulty of coping in a marriage where the wife had higher qualifications than the husband. Jenny's husband has a degree in Botany, while she has a PhD in Chemistry. Currently, she deems herself lucky because he earns more money than her despite her higher qualifications. However, she previously earned more than him, until recently when he got a better job. At the time when she earned more, it was a problem for the husband who once asserted, "I cannot be comfortable when my wife is earning more money than I am." When they had fights, he usually attributed her outlook to the fact that she earned more than him. It was a real struggle. Now that he earns more, "you can see that he takes charge. You know their egos…He even told me that he doesn't see the point in going for a masters, PhD—for what? Because I can see I earn more than you." Even then, like she was warned, she has found herself treading on eggshells just to reassure him that she still respects him as head of house even though she has a PhD.

Jenny has also found herself trying to convince those who have taunted her that a PhD would change her to the point that she would cease to even respect her husband, explaining: "I will remain Jenny except for the title that will be added to me. I will remain the same." One of them responded stating: "Yes Jane, I know you, but your husband, everything you will do after the PhD, however small…or even for things you did before the PhD, he will look at them this time with a different perspective. He will think you are doing it because you have that degree."

The head of chemistry department advised her to kneel whenever she greeted or served her husband in order to demonstrate respect. This idea of showing respect, practiced especially within eastern and central tribes in Uganda, is not common

among Kenyans, which is where Jenny's husband is from. One evening when Jenny's husband returned home from work however, she knelt down to greet him. He laughed saying, "What is this?" Strangely, the following morning, he left more money than usual on the bedside table: "so I do not know what he thought. May be he thought I had knelt because I wanted more money. So I realized this was not important for him."

During her PhD graduation celebration, Jenny's father addressed her in his congratulatory speech affirming, "Jenny, now that you have finished these degrees, I want you to give more time to him, let him also do his academic progress." Later on, Jenny explained to her father that her husband was not interested in pursuing further education as he earns even more than Jenny who has a PhD. Jenny's father however, told her to continue encouraging her husband to go back to school. Jenny agreed to her father's request and succeeded in convincing her husband to return to school: "As we speak, he has registered for his masters in nutrition. I told him that this would gain him a promotion. He said he might even do a PhD."

Like Jenny, Jose has also had to take the threat to her husband's masculinity into consideration, now that she intends to do her PhD. Jose has assured him that she will remain the same person:

> I keep telling him. I will still be the same Joselyn. Just a simple qualification does not stop me being a woman…he is still the head of the family. He commands that power which I don't have…He has that God-given position and I cannot compete with it. My target is simply to get a qualification.

Jose, raised by a single father, spoke to him about her concerns. Her father encouraged her to pursue her studies, and to keep the communication with her husband open and regular. She admits that with a qualification like a PhD, society would require more submissive performance than she enacted before, in order to prove that one is still a good wife. She hopes her husband can finish his PhD before she does, so that it she does not dim his light.

In reiterating Jenny's advice to leave qualifications outside the home, Tino explains that many of her colleagues have both the PhD and successful marriages. She attributes this to finding a supportive partner, and she adds: "I think It depends also on how you treat the man—if you show him that you are above him, then you will have problems, but if you show him that you respect him, then things will remain ok. Coz a PhD is just a qualification—nothing about you changes."

The pursuit of a PhD for Brandy a single woman, was seen as "basically studying her way out of the market" as has been suggested to her a myriad of times: "no man was going for a woman with a PhD." In resisting this narrative Brandy talked back affirming, "It is Okay (laughter). It is okay because those ones I do not anyway. I

need to be able to respect my man so if you can't even understand my potential then I don't know." She talks about the best time to get married as the 20s when a woman is in touch with how to enact the "good wife"—"you could manoeuvre, plan, and decide, and connive and behave a certain way aaahhh it is too much work (laughter)." At this moment in time, after fighting so hard to get her place within her career, she cannot garner enough energy to perform "good wife"—"you do not have enough fight in you to do more." As such, she stated, "you require either a really self-made man but people have fragile egos; it comes with the Y chromosome." The downside about getting married early, she adds is that "very few women find the men who support them to do what they need to do, to grow. Because you almost have to stop shining our light so that a man's light shines more than yours ehhhh! " Brandy has been reminded time and again, how intimidating she is for most men to approach:

"You are extremely intimidating"
"You are very intimidating"
"What would a man give you?"
"What is your need from a man?"

Like Brandy whose light is too bright, and as such intimidating, Professor Musta heard the same narrative when she returned to Uganda after her PhD and several appointments as a lecturer abroad: "Then as they said, the more senior you become, the more you scare off suitors…you have lost so much time…and you are now a scare, you are over qualified for these relationships." Professor Musta also witnessed her highly qualified friends' struggles in relationships. One of the first female medical doctors in Uganda, a friend of Professor Musta, got beaten up by her husband in public to prove as Professor Musta explains, "that he was the man. That marriage didn't last…so the mentality that men are scared of high achieving women is quite true." Professor Musta explained however, that if one gets their qualifications in marriage, then it is likely to be fine. Professor Musta gave an example of another friend, Professor Mayanja, whose husband allowed her to pursue her PhD. However, he asked her to make sure she got someone to look after the children in her absence, as he would have nothing to do with their care: "If you are going for that course, you must find someone to do your roles." In this way, he remained the man.

On the whole, tales of damnation in regard to their marriages proliferated when the women pronounced their plans to pursue doctoral programs. Talking back to the narratives, most of the women raised critical questions, resisting scripts which would have served to contain them to the hearth and home, also disrupting the idea that marriage is more important to women than career or anything else for that matter. Yet,

in diming their light so as to let the men in their lives shine, the women found ways of deploying power to create conditions that would enable the straddling of career and family in a context where the hierarchical relations in marriage risk toppling over with a more highly qualified wife. In dimming their light as such, the women created space in which the power relations seemingly remained intact, to enable them to partake of the power embodied in higher education.

The women dim their light in a myriad of ways—reassurances to their spouses that it was just a qualification, which would not change them as wives; involving their husbands in the PhD in order to ensure collective ownership; showing the man that he remains above and encouraging him to pursue further studies. These women, rode on the reassurance that they would "live their PhDs at the door"—a saying in commonly used in Uganda for highly qualified women, who must leave their qualifications, positions, status at the door before entering their homes to submissively serve their husbands. This gave their spouses the reassurance that their masculinity was not under threat, in order to allow them—against the grain of society, to go abroad for further studies. Diming their light so that they can pursue their dreams assuages the fear bound up with a highly accomplished woman, who is necessarily "big-headed" and thus uncontrollable—risking a destabilizing of the family. There is agency in diming their light, so as to create possibility of a stable home for their children and to hold onto their marriages, while also partaking of power imbued in higher education, in a context where marriage and children are indeed a measure of success and power in some ways, and, where a failed marriage is blamed largely on the wife.

6.7. Crossing Gender Boundaries

In this section, I highlight how the women crossed gender boundaries taking on male and/or masculine roles in refashioning their realities. Yet the doggedness of a gender roles discourse stands out, persistently reinstating boundary maintenance (Davies, 2003).

Like most African men, Professor Musta is sure her father must have preferred a mix of boys and girls. However, he first had 9 girls before the first boy was born. The girls did all sorts of work as her father affirmed, "God has given me girls and girls have to do everything in this family. I am not going to borrow boys from neighbours so you have to learn to ride a bicycle, learn to carry luggage." The girls in her family as Professor Musta put it, "were like tomboys." When the family grew cotton, the girls rode bicycles to harvest the cotton and carry it home. Being the weakest, the luggage was always too heavy, sometimes throwing Professor Musta and her bicycle on the ground. Even at such moments her father never spared her: "You

have to be firm!" He said to her. Her late eldest sister on the other hand, was as she put it, "like a man. She would ride and go carry her sacks…get home then come to help this idiot who cannot ride (laughter)." While women in their village community did not eat chicken and certain types of fish, Professor Musta's father rejected this asserting, "in my family I don't hear that kind of crap…I cannot be eating chicken alone." As such, his girls grew up eating chicken and fish, as well as doing roles traditionally associated with males. When the villagers commented that his daughters behaved like men, their father would turn to the girls and say, "Don't listen to that idiot. They are so stupid that is why they are poor." By village standards at the time, Professor Musta's father was considered rich. He seldom boasted: "You see, with my girls, what do other people with boys do better? Me with my girls I do everything!" In school, their classmates sometimes retorted that Professor Musta and her sisters were like men. She despised people who talked like that just as much as her father had despised them. Professor Musta had sometimes responded to them stating, "You idiots, you are saying you don't do this, you don't eat that. But we eat them and we are even stronger and cleverer!"

In getting his daughters to partake of roles and practices associated with men and/or masculinity in his community, Professor Musta's father had remade his and their reality, making the girls cross gender boundaries against the grain in his community where there were discrete gendered roles and practices. Traditionally, there was more value placed on male than female children, given their role to ensure continuity of the family line. Professor Musta's father, in having 9 girls remade his reality by making them cross gender boundaries. Finding agency in the recognition that God did not give him boys, he encouraged his daughters to undertake male roles, riding bicycles, and carrying heavy sacks of food. They also transgressed cultural norms within some Ugandan tribes where eating delicacies like meat, chicken and eggs were preserved only for men. Rather than eat these alone, Professor Musta's father threw all caution to the wind, asking his daughters to eat with him. In disturbing the gender order in community, Professor Musta and her sisters were ridiculed for acting like men. Professor Musta and her father resisted this backlash by directly referring to these people as idiots. It is evident here, as elsewhere in the study, that crossing of boundaries is made possible in the absence of boys. As such, the roles remain boys' roles that girls perform as a way of improvising. Nonetheless, crossing gender boundaries disrupts the norms, shifting them in some way.

The women's mothers had generally endeavoured to bring the women's brothers on board, getting them to do some of the domestic chores traditionally relegated to women. This however, was countered in some ways as the women's mothers put more emphasis on girls to learn domestic roles while the emphasis for the

boys was elsewhere as demonstrated in section 5.4. As Gelman et al. (2004) suggests, "while mother's explicit talk about masculinity and femininity may convey a neutral message, there is also much implicit gender talk between mothers and children … sometimes giving messages that conflict with explicit talk" (as cited in Paechter, 2007, p. 50). This notwithstanding, the practice of inviting males to take part in domestic chores cannot be minimized—and is indeed a way of resisting the gender regimes which have enduringly relegated women to the private, less valued realm in order to sustain hierarchical gendered power relations.

In suggesting that their mothers ensured that roles were shared "equally"—"mu nju muno temuli mulenzi, temuli muwala", the women in my study suggested gender boundaries in their homes were blurred in terms of allocation of roles. The irony is that it is the mothers in most of the cases who were in charge of imparting the domestic skills, rather than the fathers, reproducing the discourse of women as nurturers. This notwithstanding, at least 3 of the women's fathers were indeed single fathers, disrupting the norm in which caring for children is traditionally associated with women. Jose's father, a high school teacher raised his three children as a single father. Their mother had left the home when the oldest of them was barely 6 years. She only came home during Christmas time, bearing gifts. She later passed on in unclear circumstances. Jose's father did not remarry, as is the norm, in order to find another woman to take care of the children as advised by his friends who insisted the children were too young and needed a mother. Taking up the role as mother and father, he taught them the domestic roles. Dina's father, a gynaecologist who had separated with his wife, took on the home, cooking, cleaning and attending to all the domestic chores. He also talked to Dina about her menses, teaching her how to use sanitary towels and hygienically take care of herself during her menstrual cycle. Carol was also raised by a single father who performed both traditionally masculine and feminine gender roles in their home.

What is interesting in these instances when men have crossed gender boundaries is the *absence* of a woman in the home. This, as already belaboured in section 5.4, does not completely challenge gendered roles as the men simply "sit in" for the women re-inscribing the gendered division of labour. Indeed, these women's fathers asked for women's intervention at certain times. Jose's father for example asked matrons as well as female teachers to come in and talk to his daughters about sexuality, which according to Jose, was futile because she and her sister could not open up to these women. Jose missed her mother immensely explaining that there were just certain aspects of her life that she would have rather discussed with her mother. Her father for example did not understand when Jose fervently needed a new dress for her confirmation, letting her attend it in uniform, (and in tears), while all her

classmates were dressed to "kill." Dina's father eventually sent her off to live with her stepsister so that she could learn how to do domestic chores. Further, Sr. Lucretia, who lived with her older brother for a while, also struggled until he brother got a girlfriend to whom Sr. Lucretia turned for counsel in regard to menstruation. These narratives demonstrate the limits to crossing gender boundaries in the women's lives. Nonetheless, crossing the boundaries created possibility of weakening set limits and/or norms.

In taking up science subjects within academia, some of the women crossed gender boundaries, partaking in the power imbued in male dominated disciplines like physics and engineering which are higher up in the hierarchy of school subjects (Paechter, 2000), and, are as such accorded central importance both within and outside schools in Uganda. In donning their power as female scientists, these women are in a position of strength not only to increase possibility for other women—"inspire and motivate other girls to work hard"—as Carol put it, but also to resist and disrupt gender arrangements which gazette science as an exclusively male and/or masculine realm. Fida for example proved herself by outperforming the boys in the science subjects even though they continued to downplay her capability. The teachers, who albeit well intentioned, as Fida explained, also discouraged girls from doing sciences because they thought girls would not pass these subjects: "Why don't you do home economics. Why don't you do history? That is when you will pass…you are going to fail." Fida resisted this narrative: "Of course with teachers you don't talk to them. You just say, 'No this is what I like, let me try.' But in your mind you say, 'they will see that I can actually make it!'" Fida did not face off with the teachers who tried to discourage her, but as culturally appropriate, she gently asked them to let her try, while in her heart, she resolved to prove herself—show them that she can make it.

Brandy's experience also provides insights into the navigation of gender boundaries beyond school. Brandy, now an aviation engineer who works in project development and also teaches as a part time lecturer at two universities, initially aspired to work as a civil engineer. Fantasizing about engineering had brought tears to her eyes as she envisioned the work on buildings and structures. But the blinders soon fell off her eyes, jolting her into reality when she eventually went to the field. The social dynamics of gender she explained, hit her almost immediately, shaking her out of the fantasy. Her industrial training in the second year of her bachelor in engineering provided the space for this. She had worked at a site within the parliamentary building, which at first she was enthusiastic about. However, it became clear to her at the end of the 6 weeks of industrial training, that civil engineering was an area in which she would never cope as a female. She explained, "Whether you wore the buggiest jeans or the loosest T-shirts, you struggled to gain respect from foremen and

non-English speaking bricklayers, to listen to you even as an engineer. And I thought no! no! no!" This corroborates Beasley's assertion that "no matter what role women play in cultural productions, the male gaze sees them as desired or despised sexualized objects (Beasley, 1999, p. 21). Given such experiences, Brandy decided that she would develop her career around engineering positions that do not obligate her to work at sites. Brandy's current position within business development requires that she solve problems without necessarily doing site work.

Further, within the sciences, some of the women resisted the gendered dynamics which were likely to "victimize" them, strategically choosing "female friendly" and/or "softer" rather than hard-core sciences. This is corroborated in studies that show women veering into scientific fields like biology and computer, rather than work in the so-called "hard-core" spaces (Easlea, 1986; Kitetu, 2008) where according to my study, many have been sexualized. Liz for example, although a mechanical engineer and lecturer within the engineering department, had put electrical engineering as her first choice. She explained that most girls put electrical rather than mechanical engineering, which she ended up getting admission for at the university. Brandy, an aviation engineer and lecturer, gave up on her passion for civil engineering. This is because it involved doing work at male dominated sites where she was sexualized. She chose to work her way into managerial positions which required minimal work at sites. The choice to veer from hard-core sciences limited the women choices, relegating them to, and reproducing gendered spaces within the sciences, which are then prone to attract gendered stereotypes. Additionally, creating their own space within the sciences risks leaving the conditions that "eject" women from the so-called hard-core sciences unchecked, unquestioned, and/or intact.

In problematizing the structures that limit the enactment of forms of agency that make it possible for women to go against the grain by pursuing hard core sciences, I argue that partaking in those sciences by women, is more threatening to patriarchy. As such, patriarchy remains undisturbed when women are erased therein. Nonetheless, I recognize these women's agency in choosing and creating what they deem "safe" spaces within sciences, which have traditionally excluded them. In finding safe spaces within sciences, these women exercise agency to embrace rather than alienate themselves from science within a scientific culture in which as Harding argues, "to become scientifically illiterate is simply to be illiterate" (1991, p. 55).

On the whole, as girls, the women crossed gender boundaries firstly by taking on traditionally male roles transgressing the norm, despite attracting ridicule from some members of their community. The single fathers also raised their children, taking on roles both in private and public domains, disrupting the gender roles script. However, both the girls who took on traditionally male roles, and the fathers who took

on traditionally female roles did it in the absence of males and females respectively. While this transgression unsettles the norm in some way, it does not do much to challenge the idea that these roles remain gendered given the ways in which they are handed back to their "rightful" persons. The limits to transgression are also highlighted in the way the fathers who raised girls looked for female figures to engage with their daughter in some instances, reproducing the "naturalness" of gender roles. Secondly, Girls also crossed gender boundaries by taking on the sciences disrupting gender arrangements which gazette this as a male space. They found agency in outperforming boys in these subjects, garnering the support of sceptical teachers in culturally appropriate ways, as well as through creating safe spaces and/or "female friendly" spaces within the sciences. This gave them an edge to act within a male dominated space.

6.8. Pushing Back in Male Dominated Spaces

In this section, I focus on how the women pushed back on domination and coped in male dominated spaces by directly confronting oppressive powers, paying them back in the same currency and/or giving them the proverbial "taste of their own medicine, making friends and/or networking with men as gatekeepers, and appeasing the voyeuristic male gaze on the women's terms. The subjectivities produced within resistance in pushing back within male dominated spaces include the toothless dog, queen bee, and tomboy as spaces of agency for women seeking to avoid group-based discrimination. Yet such subjectivities re-inscribed gendered relations by shoring up masculine ways of being as demonstrated through the women's stories to which I turn now.

In Biru's mixed primary school, girls always went "head on with the boys, quarrelled with them and walk away" as she explained. It was different however in King's College Budo, her mixed secondary school. When the girls walked past the boys' dormitories to access their own, words like "chic" were used for girls considered beautiful and "dunkwe" for girls considered ugly. The boys also used the blackboard, writing insulting comments about girls such as "Biru, you are ugly." Sometimes girls rubbed such comments off the blackboard and replaced them with insults directed at the boys. In one battle between the sexes, one of the girls drew a picture of a particular boy on the blackboard with hairs sticking out of his nose. Biru and her friends were accused for this and reported to the teacher on duty by the crying boy. The teacher took one look at the picture and burst out laughing. Biru and her friends got off the hook because the complainant did not have evidence that they had drawn the picture.

The real conflict Biru had in Budo was the time she and her friends retaliated by insulting boys who passed by girls' end on their way to the garden, calling them all sorts of demeaning names, just as boys had usually done to them. Uncowed by the sheer size of these A' level boys footballers, Biru and her friends had hurled out all sorts of insults. This, Biru explains, she doubts had ever been done before. At dinnertime when Biru and her friends went to the dinning, they were surrounded by the A' level boys, accusing them for having insulted them earlier on. One of the boys singled Biru out stating:

Boy: Biru, I heard your voice, I know it was you!
Biru: How do you know it was me? What did I say?
Boy: You said I had bowlegs
Biru: Oh, I did not know you had bowlegs. Now I can see them

Everybody looked at the boys' legs and burst out laughing. In the end, they let the girls ago. Biru became more careful from then on. Resistance in this instance, within Biru's male dominated school, had been head-on. Biru and her classmates had taken to the windows, and disrupting the norm in which boys voyeuristically objectified and denigrated female bodies, these girls had exercised a disciplinary female gaze. In using the master's tools—the voyeuristic male gaze turned female, Biru and her friends had in these moments, destroyed the master's house. Gender arrangements which ride on women's "vulnerability" to legitimate their victimization can be troubled by giving back in the same measure—a taste of one's own medicine—at the risk of sounding cliché.

Sr. Lucretia and her friends also enacted this script within their mixed school. They sat by the terrace where they knew some boys would pass to get to their dormitories. Sr. Lucretia and her friends then whistled at some boys, emulating the boys who had done this to them so many times. Donning a male/masculine demeanour, one of the brave girls walked up to a boy who stood still in shock. She looked him over—evoking the very familiar male gaze, and asked him some questions, before dismissing him, while her friends laughed hysterically. The girls, recognizing the power imbued in masculinity as shown here, took up a male and/or masculine demeanour, asserting themselves and disrupting the gendered bully-bullied script.

In talking about mixed schools, Jamila decried the preoccupation of girls with physical appearances, rather than focus on their academic work: "Like I said, my stepdaughter is just in S2 and they are already praising her bums and boobs." Jamila recollects how she got into Kibuli a male dominated mixed school. Jamila's cousin a student in Kibuli had influenced Jamila's decision to list this school as one of her choices for A' level. What had captivated Jamila about the school is the ways in

which her cousin had talked about her interactions with boys—"she seemed to have a life!" as Jamila recollects. Jamila had had the impression that Kibuli was like the high schools she had watched mostly on American television, where girls had interesting and adventurous lives. Curious to live that life, she put Kibuli as a choice school: "Do you know I put Kibuli as a second choice without my parents knowing it? And do you know why? It was part of adolescence." Although Kibuli did not measure up to her fantasy, she studied with boys, and indeed had to learn how to groom herself: "Girls there took grooming to another level, trimming eyebrows and all." Because Jamila was thin and lanky, she soon realized that she was not the kind of girl boys looked out for, which influenced her decision to become one of the boys—a tomboy. The other girls however, spent so much time on their physical appearances, contemplating relationships with boys, rather than focus on their academic work. She explains that this pre-occupation with marriage generally contributes to the poor performance of girls in mixed school settings, recommending that "if you are sending a girl to a mixed school, make sure she is strong minded and can reason and prioritize." She has often asked her husband to change his daughter from a mixed school because she has seen how much it has affected her performance.

In coping in these male dominated spaces therefore, some girls were complicit in dancing to the piper's tune, so to speak, by grooming themselves to appease the male gaze—and perhaps enjoying it. Jamila, albeit passively, mentioned that she made it to the list of 10 top beautiful girls in the school! As Francis (1998) convincingly explains, narratives of female beauty can be empowering: "In a society where these discourses of female beauty and romance predominate, doesn't it feel great to believe that one has achieved that notion of beauty? As male eyes rest admiringly upon you, don't you feel a sense of power?" (Francis, 1998, p. 169). As Crawford et al. articulately adds therefore, "girls' sense of agency relates to an understanding of the way the social world works and to their competence in its terms" (as cited in Davies, 2003, p. 79). Flaunting female beauty and brains on the girls' own terms can be a radical way of exercising power within mixed settings, when it is used to navigate gender regimes to serve women's interests. Becky, Gloria, Brenda and Jenny articulate how beauty and brains served to exonerate girls from bullying.

Brenda for example, was saved from the nasty comments made by boys against girls, because as she explains: "I was also a high flyer—if you are a girl and you are a high flyer, they leave you alone—I used to beat them in English, Math—so somehow they would just befriend me…There is a time I got 100%. Anyway you don't bully a bright girl." Sarah and Gladys were two other girls within the science class who had, in Brenda's words, "put the boys on their toes. Right now Sarah is a medical doctor

and Gladys is a vet doctor." This corroborates Jenny's experience in a mixed school where she did not get bullied because she was both bright and hardworking.

As a survival technique in male dominated settings, Cherry affirmed that her "weapon has been to make friends with them (boys), win them over and work together." This worked for her as a student during her undergraduate in a class of 3 girls out of 56 students. She explained that all 3 girls in the class were high achievers, and in fact one of the girls got an upper second, beating several of the boys. Cherry had previously studied at Namagunga, a single sex school where as she explains, "we were protected, unlike this setting where you even have boys sitting next to you, wondering how to cope." She does not remember how she did it, but found myself sailing through and even making more male than female friends. The transition from a single sex to a mixed school, as she explains, did not hit her hard "because I quickly adjusted and fitted in. The boys even protected us…they gave us support." When concepts got hard, some of the boys helped to explain them: "Cherry, have you understood this? and off he explained it." Jamila also made friends with one of the smart boys whom she consulted, rather than ask questions and look "damn" in front of the whole class. Tino, Carol and Jenny reiterate this narrative, having made friends with the boys in their science classes, with whom they worked in order to excel in school.

In making friends with men and/or gatekeepers in positions of power afforded them by gender, most women in the study navigated gendered power arrangements, shaping their realities. Indeed some of the women tell compelling stories in which they partnered with men, who mentored and created spaces for them within their career trajectories. Jenny, a lecturer in the chemistry department got her first research position from the late Dr. Kirumira, who also let her teach his classes, giving her the experience she needed to apply for her lectureship. He also supervised her PhD thesis. Cherry also applauded her late supervisor Professor Opolot for mentoring her. She explains that he "did a lot in me and I would like to carry his legacy forward. I would like to be an academician. He was my mentor." Judith, Jose and myself also got our first teaching jobs at the university through men who had been our former lecturers, and who had also become friends. Dr. Kalema and Professor Masembe ushered me into academia, giving me a timetable to teach on their language programs, from whence I gained experience to take on work within academia. These men also tirelessly wrote reference letters for my applications for funding and admission for further studies abroad. As illuminated therefore, women have created spaces to navigate male dominated spaces by making friends with men who dominantly hold the reins of power.

This notwithstanding, some men created conditions which work to entrench themselves, while blocking women from access to power. The blocking of women' s upward mobility within male dominated academia as illuminated by some of the women's stories, evokes the "glass-ceiling" phenomenon. The term glass ceiling was first talked about in the employment context to refer to invisible barriers that impede the career advancement of women in North America (Hymowitz & Schellhardt, 1986). According to Baxter "the general-case glass ceiling hypothesis states that not only is it more difficult for women than for men to be promoted up levels of authority hierarchies within workplaces, but also that the obstacles women face relative to men become greater as they move up the hierarchy" (Baxter, 2000, p. 275). This situation is referred to as a "ceiling" as there is a limitation blocking upward progression and "glass" (transparent) because while the limitation is real, it is transparent and therefore not immediately obvious to the observer. Since the term was coined, "glass ceiling" has also come to describe the limited advancement of all marginalized groups in various domains of life (Bell, Mclaughlin, & Sequieva, 2002).

As a female pioneer within academia in Uganda, Professor Musta literally fought for her recruitment as a lecturer, as well as her promotion as senior lecturer, first female dean, and first female professor, resisting patriarchy through overt head-on collision. During her promotion to senior lectureship, Professor Musta's head of department preferred a male lecturer apparently because he had served longer at the university. As such, the head of department refused to endorse her application. Approaching the university secretary herself, she unconventionally submitted her application directly to him, explaining that she was better qualified than her department's preferred male applicant given she had also published widely, which he had not done. Musta was invited for the recruitment meeting and in front of her head of department, convincingly justified why she was the best candidate for the position. She got the position. This trend of resistance to her upward mobility was repeated in her promotion through the ranks to full professorship, with Musta facing off directly with her head of department as well as the minister of education, who later signed her endorsement for full professorship.

In facing off directly with men in positions of power, which is culturally atypical especially of women, Professor Musta and two other women on the council within the university administration earned the name "the three gender musketeers." Their incessant resistance against the marginalisation of women produced them as undesirable subjects. Women who make "noise" about gender issues or who consider themselves as feminists are seldom looked upon disparagingly in Uganda. Such women are sometimes referred to as "Matembes," after a vocal feminist activist in Uganda renown for making so much noise in the fight for women's rights. It is not

surprising then that Professor Musta was blocked from the position of assistant registrar, and the vote given to another female colleague, who as Professor Musta relents, was a "toothless dog," because she "just sits there looking like a lady, just smiling…I was beaten out of that post just to give it to her because they did not want the three gender musketeers." In making space for such female subjectivities in leadership, while ejecting women like Professor Musta, patriarchal gender arrangements are not put at risk—they remain intact, unquestioned. This is a pervasive stance in Uganda, where women's voices within Local Councils are "muted by the fact that women's representatives were often chosen on the basis of their acceptability to men rather than on the basis of their ability to fight for women's rights"(Ottemoeller, 1999)

While Professor Musta's struggles to create spaces for women in academia were not in vain, some of the women who got into the leadership spaces were either "toothless dogs" as already explained, or they suffered the "Queen bee syndrome" (Derks, Ellemers, & Laar, 2011). This phrase describes women who having achieved positions of power, undermine and legitimate rather than support and question the disadvantaged position of their female subordinates (Ellemers, Van Den Heuvel, De Gilder, Maass, & Bonvini, 2004). This is likely to be more detrimental to the advancement of other women, as opinions of such women are perceived as more credible and persuasive than those of men (Sutton, Elder, & Douglas, 2006).

The queen bee syndrome was enacted by the Mother Superior at the convent, who attempted to deploy her power to trap Sr. Lucretia into teaching—a woman's profession—rather than let her embrace a position at the university. Sr. Lucretia had been asked to withdraw from her master's program because of inadequate financial resources from her congregation to sponsor her. Unwilling to give up on her postgraduate degree in which she had invested both time and money, she applied and was given a lecture position at a university. This, she reasoned, would fund her master's program. Nonetheless, the Mother Superior threatened Sr. Lucretia with dismissal from the convent, if she did not abandon both her master's program as well as the new lecture position. Sr. Lucretia was asked to take on headship of a school in Karamoja. Sr. Lucretia, un-cowed by the Mother Superior's threats, told her that she did not intend to ever leave the convent as she came to stay forever. During each of their meetings, Sr. Lucretia had used a recorder in her pocket to capture their conversations: "In fact there is a recording in which she asked me to write a letter her asking for my dismissal. But I told her I had taken my final vows and would remain here permanently. But if she wanted, I could write a letter for her to dismiss herself!" Sr. Lucretia eventually reported the Mother Superior to the archbishop who listened to the tape recordings, and comforted her, giving her the reassurance that it would pass,

and was indeed a crisis that every religious person went through at some point. When a new superior was eventually elected, the story ended. The new Mother Superior allowed Sr. Lucretia to choose whether she wanted to head the secondary school in Karamoja, or take up her job at the university, and continue with her master's degree. She chose the former, which is how she joined the university as a lecturer. As a nun in a convent, it is unbecoming to resist orders from a Mother Superior. Sr. Lucretia resisted head-on. This perpetuation of gendered work place cultures and/or hierarchical power relations is not limited to women in mainstream powerful positions as my study reveals. Sr. Lucretia for example, talks about her experience in interacting with the secretary to the human resource department within her university, explaining how she made it difficult for her to access the boss. She affirmed that she prefers to deal with men rather than women.

I would argue that the toothless dog as well as queen bee subject positions taken up by women are produced as spaces of agency for women seeking to avoid group-based discrimination (Ellemers & Van Laar, 2010). Rather than unsettle the idea of the queen bee syndrome, I am more invested in the conditions that produce the queen bee as a position of power and agency for some women—albeit its detriment to other women. I argue that feminist liberal ideals, which focus on bringing women from the "margins" into the "centre," without transforming the problematics and/or power relations therein, serve to reproduce the very same marginalization of women at the hands of other women.

Nonetheless, some of the women in my study were invested in using their positions of power to motivate and improve power positions for women. Professor Musta, for example, literally fought for the representation of women within council at Makerere University. Brandy also "unapologetically" as she put it, took on women—especially the black women in her organization, mentoring and helping them cope in that male dominated space. Faith took off time during her lectures at the university to counsel and advise girls. These women are as thus, disrupt the woman-be-ware woman discourse (Sunderland, 2004), resisting the gender order by making a way, path, space for other women.

On the whole the women pushed back on domination and/or coped in male dominated spaces by directly facing off and /or confrontation with oppressive powers, paying them back in the same currency and/or giving them the proverbial "taste of their own medicine, making friends and/or networks with men as gatekeepers, appeasing the voyeuristic male gaze on the women's terms. The subjectivities produced within resistance in pushing back within male dominated spaces include the toothless dog, queen bee, and tomboy as spaces of agency for women seeking to avoid group-based discrimination.

6.9. Repudiating Sexualisation

In this section, I focus on stories which illuminate the modes of resistance to sexualisation deployed by the women at the work place, as well as those taken up by the girls in their stories. The women developed their own modes of resistance exercising the power available to them within these oppressive conditions to cope in the work place. Public rejection and confrontation were used by women in higher positons to publicly shame and discipline the men. Yet these approaches could be detrimental for women lower in the hierarchy who used more subtle means to resist sexualisation. Some girls at the university deployed their sexual power to serve their purposes as demonstrated later on in this chapter.

Looking back, Jose recalls her first position as a secondary school teacher in a school where the staff was male dominated. She was offended when a group of 6 of her male colleagues "booked" her, stating: "the girl who has come, she is mine…I am the one that is going to woo her." A female colleague, who was also friends with Jose overheard these men and warned her about it. Jose angry, walked up to them, and confronting them asserted, "I am not a sex object! If you disrespect women, you are going to get it from me! Yes! Who said you will be the first? Who even gave you that right?" She blew up! The members of staff present at the time were surprised. This happened in yet the second secondary school she joined as a young female teacher. Yet again, she confronted the group of men affirming, "You guys think we are sex objects! If you got lucky with other women, you are not going to see me do that!"

As a tutorial assistant at her first position as a young graduate, Dina was assaulted by Mr. Kivenge, a much older colleague who entered her office, locked the door and sexually fondled her. She reported him to the administration and he was reprimanded. Although she has now overcome her fear of Kivenge, she continues to witness the ways in which her male colleagues at the university sexually abuse girls—having sex with them in their offices and in cars, especially after the evening classes. Some of the girls according to Dina, have seduced these men, coming to their offices and enticing them to different ends. Indeed as Dina adds, one professor who had sexual escapades in a lodge with some of his students, told Dina that these girls were more sexually experienced than their wives. In an encounter, a student seduced and had sexual relations with Bernard, a friend and colleague of Dina. The girl later demanded for money to do an abortion claiming to have gotten pregnant. She threatened that if he did not give her the huge sum of money, she would tell the police. She used this as a way of siphoning money from him.

During Brandy's first induction as a member of board, one of her colleagues shook her and then scratched the palm of her hand—a way some men in Uganda

express sexual interest in a woman. She was outraged and shocked. Because this man had sexually harassed her in ways that were inadmissible as evidence, she ignored him because "I also learnt you pretend you have not noticed especially if they send subtle messages." The guy later picked up the courage and during a luncheon after a strategy session for the board and the executive, "he started propositioning me and telling his friends how basically he is in my gene pool, I am an African woman, I am clever, and I am not married, so he thinks I should give him a child." Brandy explained that public rejection, which she used in this moment is effective in a male dominated space because it spreads a lot faster—sending the message to other likely predators—than if she had responded to this man's proposition discretely.

In retrospect, having worked her way through the ranks, Brandy explained that the dynamics at engineering sites are such that "men all try their lack with these women on site… So women get this reputation either you are drunkard or you sleep around." In her work place as such, she has sensitized women about what they are getting into, as well as the men to improve their awareness of gender issues, in order to mitigate scenarios that undermine women in the work place. She recalls how as a 4th year engineering student at an upcountry engineering road project, she had walked in with her male classmates, and, one of the men had addressed her stating, "We have enough secretaries what are you doing here?" Brandy's experiences have shaped her realization that as a woman in leadership within a male dominated environment, she is in a position of strength to shape the gendered working environment in ways that espouse women. Brandy suggests that mentorship is important to educate students about the social dynamics of the fields for which they aspire. In the future, Brandy sees herself teaching so much more. She is also enthusiastic about the strategic leadership roles that she currently performs and intends to set up a company with the right organizational cultural values that she thinks would be right for women to thrive in an engineering environment.

At Cherry's current job, she is sometimes availed a driver to take her to train teachers in upcountry schools. The driver has tried to make sexual advances at her. This as she explained, annoyed her a lot: "I told myself it could be because I joke a lot, but again, should my joking be used for people to take advantage of me?" She recounts of another colleague who has come right up to her and pleaded with her stating, "Cherry, there is something in you that strikes me, just understand me, just understand me." She told him to keep his distance, and has generally coped by firmly saying "no!" to these advances. There are times however, when she has given in, in a way, giving this particular colleague a hug, well aware that he would derive some satisfaction from this, moreover, she would have nothing to lose by giving him a hug. Although she has heard stories of sexual harassment within her own work place, she

does not have evidence. She recollects however, the accusation when she and another female colleague got the jobs as national trainers for math and physics respectively: "some men said we had got the jobs by first compromising our bodies. We had to defend ourselves, affirming we have the ability, experience and qualifications to do our jobs."

While Jamila did not experience any sexual advances as a part-time lecturer at the university, it was a different story within the bank where she works. The older ladies scolded her for calling her bosses by their first name: "How do you call him Chris. Is he your brother?" They also reprimanded her for her dressing, calling it indecent. But because she was free with the boss, calling him by his first name, he was fond of her for her boldness. As a supervisor, he was required to come to the till to check on the progress of each of the cashiers. A couple of times during this supervision, he had stroked Jamila's back, saying, "When are you giving me some?" She always jokingly responded, "I don't mix business with pleasure", which shocked and made him really laugh. In attending a mixed school, Jamila had learned how to brush off sexual advances and yet maintain good working relations with men. She has carried this over in working with both her male colleagues and the bank customers. Chris her supervisor at the time, eventually gave up and now they are great friends. She explains however, that stories of sexual harassment are rife in the bank, with regional managers for example accepting to transfer female workers to their preferred workstations, mostly within the city, only on the condition that these women gave them "some."

Tino acknowledges that the sexual innuendos never end: "(Laughing)—that never ends—and in fact when you first come, many think you are here to find a boyfriend or something—they keep insisting." She explains that she had to show them that she was not interested. In her experience, many have accepted defeat and become friends with her: "What I usually do is become tough on them and then with time, they get the message—sometimes I joke with them—I know you are a married man, what do you want with me? Isn't your woman good enough for you?" She explained that when this was repeated over time, the men sometimes got shy and did not pursue her again. She warned however, about the tension between fending off the men and at the same time keeping a good working relationship, because in the end as she explained, it is important not to be isolated and "bad-mouthed" by scorned colleagues. She added that through her three years in Austria, she did not get any such experiences: "No, I think people there are very professional and at the same time, they respect their relationships—and the laws on sexual harassment are strict."

On the whole, the women developed their own modes of resistance exercising the power available to them within oppressive conditions to cope in the work place.

Public rejection and confrontation were used as measures to publicly shame and discipline the men as Brandy and Jose's stories illuminate. Yet because the confrontational strategies risked rocking the boat in ways that could be detrimental for some women, it is mainly women like Brandy in positions of leadership who dared to deploy them. Women lower in the hierarchy made use of more subtle means well aware of their vulnerable positions within the work place. Women like Jamila and Tino used "softer" approaches such as ignoring sexual advances and/or talking back to the men in jocular ways. In so doing they warded off sexual advances while also keeping amiable friendships and/or work relations. Women like Cherry indulged the men—in an unwelcome hug for instance, choosing to keep a cordial relationship with the men, given that their gatekeeping positions shape women's own access to institutional power. Some like Biru expressed a sense of confusion—not knowing how to ward off the abuse of a colleague who was touching her thigh during a moderation meeting.

While "softer" resistance approaches from which many of these women draw to fend off sexual abuse worked in some ways to deter these men in order to maintain collegiality, they did little to unsettle the power relations which make this possible. The "hard" approaches like Brandy's however, risk isolating women in spaces where men dominantly hold the reins of power. Indeed research suggests women who hold authority over men face more harassment and discrimination because they threaten male's presumptive dominance (Chamberlain, Crowley, & Hodson, 2008; Stainback, Ratliff, & Roscigno, 2011). The conundrum in warding off sexual advances, while maintaining collegiality in workspaces where men yield so much power, remains a conundrum. As much as scholars are cognizant and critical of sexual harassment in all its explicit and implicit forms (Hlavka, 2014; Hoffman, 1986; McLaughlin et al., 2012), dealing with it in a practical sense within workspaces where women are virtually powerless is not so straightforward.

This notwithstanding, the girls at the university arguably found agency within these marginal spaces. Some girls deployed their sexual power to get men to pay their tuition. In this way, they got through school in a socio-cultural context where illiteracy is a position almost inherently of powerless*ness*. Additionally, some of the girls found crevices in which to exercise their agency by taking advantage of weak points in the web of institutional power engendered in their male lecturers, to "pass" exams on their terms. In exchange for sexual favours, the lecturers awarded good grades to some university girls. Further, Jamila explains how women in banks also deployed sexual power to get their bosses to transfer them from upcountry duty stations where they had been cut off from family and future prospects. Agentic sexual scripts have been problematized especially within the neoliberal frame, for predicating women's worth

on cultural appraisals of their sexuality (Bay-Cheng, 2015). Yet sexual agency has been illuminated as a legitimate form of agency for women in American and Anglo-European contexts to further their own agendas (Lerum & Dworkin, 2015; Tolman, Anderson, & Belmonte, 2015). Similarly, the women as described in my study, drawing on sexual agency scripts, transgressed norms of gendered moralizing and/or propriety to remake their realities using the power available to them. This appropriation of women's agency complicates the moralist one-dimensional coding of women's sexuality as either virtuous (virgin) or licentious (slut/whore).

6.10. Conclusion

Drawing on the lived experiences of 18 women in academia within the Ugandan context, this chapter focused on the ways in which they negotiated relations of gendered domination in order to shape their realities. I analysed female teacher educators' stories, paying specific attention to their engagement with norms and/or societal expectations of male and female subjects in Uganda. Cognizant of the plurality of resistance, coupled with the idea that contextual cultural norms set limits defining what is permissible in specific contexts, I identified moments of resistance which transcended normative understandings of head-on resistance to power. This illuminated how the women found narrow spaces—interstices, crevices within which to act, weakening set limits and/or norms, in order to remake their realities.

Firstly, in order to reach the high echelons, redeeming themselves from and/or resisting the precariousness of teaching at lower levels in Uganda, the women pursued postgraduate degrees, worked hard to excel, and made use of networks created with former lecturers. In this way, they disrupted the norm in which the majority of women remain in lower rank positions within feminine subjects. Some of these women also took on sciences as well as leadership roles at the university. Teaching at the university, a male dominated space, is bound up with the autonomy, in ways that support work and motherhood. While this risks re-inscribing women's identity as always already "natural" nurturers which is problematic in some ways (Butler, 1992), it also creates possibility for these women to partake in power within public spaces, while also nurturing their families within a context where motherhood is constructed as a joy and measure of success. Agency as such is located in straddling both the public as well as the private spaces which embody women's ways of being—"feeding and nurturing….attending to bodies and minds" (Beasley, 1999, p. 17). Teaching within academia in this sense is produced as appealing to the women because it also provides spaces for them to enact care in this sense creating spaces for care within a discursively "all-powerful" space and/or academia.

Secondly, the women navigated gendered hiccups they had as school-going girls, in ways that did not upset the status quo—without ruffling feathers to speak. Through coping strategies of resilience, hard work, covert questioning/interrogation of status quo, forging networks, reading and working for financial independence. In this way, the women created possibility to elude gendered powers that might have ejected them from school. The women, as girls, generally found agency in covert resistance (Connell, 2008), silently trudging on, within conditions where outright and/or direct resistance would have punitively disciplined and silenced them, creating more oppressive conditions. While this silence could normatively be read as victimhood, silence in these stories is not passive, but is used to actively interrogate power structures, while working within those structures to create possibility.

Thirdly, education afforded some of the women agency to navigate gendered structures, remaking their reality in spaces where power relations were largely skewed towards men. As a culturally recognized seat of power, the women in these narratives allowed father's power to reign—albeit at their expense, in order to extend educational opportunities for their daughters. It is interesting however, that while education was foregrounded by the women's fathers as a means for their daughters to exercise resistance to oppressive gendered marital arrangements, these fathers ironically clutched on to their own patriarchal dividend, leaving their own power and privilege within these marital arrangements intact. The male-female hierarchy although shackled by education, is shored up by culture, which clips an educated women's power—she remains a woman—a-leader-but-*not*-quite. Evident nevertheless is that education afforded some of women an "audible" voice to make decisions in their families within a context where such decisions belong to men. Education was indeed a rallying point of power for both the women and their educated mothers, affording them the space to exercise power within their homes in ways that eluded their uneducated counterparts. On the whole, while education did not erase the power embodied in men and/or boys within a culture that valorises them, it espoused women in ways that provided a space for them to negotiate their reality—making decisions, improving job and financial prospects as well as inspiring their children. The possibility of taking on work in public spaces to fend for their families disturbed traditional narratives that essentialise women and men's roles. Women as such could straddle both public spaces in their professional roles, and also attend to the private as such nurturing their families. This has been problematized for the "double shift" placed on women, who end up working full-time job at work and in the home, leaving gendered power relations intact. Yet, at the same time, it creates a space in which women do not just fit into male structures—to become just like men—work-oriented, and free from child care responsibilities. Rather in straddling both the public and

private, women find a space to remake a work culture, creating possibility that engenders the things that matter to them, thus dissipating the guilt women have registered for neglecting their children (Beasley, 1999).

Fourthly, the women navigated the valorisation of marriage to achieve their ends, in a context where marriage is dimed a rite of passage especially for them. Interrogating the valorisation of marriage, some of the women resisted the urgency of societal pressure to enact this norm. Notions of propriety were also exposed for stifling women's personalities, producing meek subjectivities, to be controlled within hierarchical marriage arrangements. Further, using counter-narratives illuminating the realities in some Ugandan marriages, some women questioned the valorisation of marriage above all else. Silence was also deployed giving some women reins to ensure peace in potentially explosive situations in which power relations were skewed. Silence as interpreted by the women themselves, involved active engagement with, as well as rejection and/or covert resistance to gender norms. This reading of silence as a form of resistance within contexts where in fact voice might be dis-enabling, is linked to a body of post-structural scholarship that troubles the privileging of voice over silence (Baxter, 2003; Boler, 2004; McClure et al., 2010; Ropers-Huilman, 1998). Nonetheless, this reading of silence within my findings as resistance, should not foreclose and/or mask the interrogation of power structures which "impose" silence as the a most "safe" means of resistance. The women unsettle the dominant discourse of marriage as very important for women (Sunderland, 2004) by suspending marriage in order to pursue her career, postponing marriage until financially independent, rejecting polygamous marital arrangements and waiting on God for the right spouse. The recourse to God gave them the reins and/or some form of control and/or a space of possibility in appealing to a higher power, in engaging with their reality in spaces where they had minimal control. In yearning to get married nevertheless, the women in my study reproduced the traditional script of women's desire to get married. However, they modified this script illuminating the desire to get married *but* on their terms—to a man who respects her dreams, one who would understand her family obligations, and one who would not require her to garden. This appropriation of the dominant traditional narrative accentuates their agency.

Further, some of the women, recognizing the power attached to marriage in Uganda, held on to their marital dividend even when their marriages were dysfunctional. In passing off as married women, some of the women could keep their children in two-parent homes, giving them the stability that this idea evokes. Also guaranteed for one of the women was financial security for her children, in a country where the economy is strained. While this reproduces the polarizing of gender roles, and the gender relations that stem from this, it is a crevice of agency through which

the women deploy the power available to them—problematic as it might be, to espouse their children's reality. In a context where children's failure is attributed to women's parenting, these women found agency in ensuring the well-being of their families, contrary to discourses which produce motherhood as inherently oppressive and exploitative for women (Beasley, 1999). In taking on the reins of power within a precarious situation, the women made use of specific coping strategies as they held on to the marital dividend, such as interrogating their circumstances, holding on to the positive such as the wellbeing of their children, keeping themselves busy, and praying to God. Passing off as married then removed the stigma that comes with the shame for having failed to keep her marriage together—squarely a woman's responsibility.

Through the promise of diming their light in order to avert the risk of outshining their husbands, the women deployed agency, garnering support from their husbands, who let them pursue higher education. In this way, the women created conditions enabling them to straddle career and family in a context where the hierarchical relations in marriage risk toppling over with a more highly qualified wife. In diming their light as such, women created space in which the power relations seemingly remained intact, to enable them to partake of the power embodied in higher education. The women dimmed their light in a myriad of ways—reassurances to their spouses that it was just a qualification which would not change them as wives; involving their husbands in the PhD in order to ensure collective ownership; showing the man that he remains above and encouraging him to pursue further studies. These women, rode on the reassurance that they would "leave their PhDs at the door"—a saying commonly used in Uganda for highly qualified women, who must "leave" their qualifications, positions, status at the door before entering their homes to submissively serve their husbands. This gave their spouses the reassurance that their masculinity was not be under threat, in order to allow them—against the grain of society, go abroad for further studies. Diming their light so that they can pursue their dreams, assuages the fear bound up with a highly accomplished woman, who is necessarily "big-headed" and thus uncontrollable. There is agency in diming their light, so as to create possibility of a stable home for their children and to hold onto their marriages, while also partaking of power imbued in higher education, in a context where marriage and children are indeed a measure of success and power in some ways, and, where a failed marriage is blamed largely on the wife. While I recognize the agency in finding spaces within which women act, I argue that the conditions which foreclose women's active and open engagement should continually be exposed and interrogated.

Fifthly, agency was also located in the ways in which women crossed gender boundaries, transgressing the gender roles script, despite attracting ridicule from some members of their community. However, both the girls who took on traditionally male

roles, and the fathers who took on traditionally female roles did it in the absence of males and females respectively. While this transgression unsettles the norm in some way, it does not challenge the idea that these roles remain gendered given the ways in which they are handed back to their "rightful" persons. The limits to transgression are also highlighted in the way the fathers who raised girls looked for female figures to engage with their daughter in some instances, reproducing the "naturalness" of the gender roles. This notwithstanding, girls also crossed gender boundaries by taking on the sciences disrupting gender arrangements which gazette this as a male space. They found agency in outperforming boys in these subjects, garnering the support of sceptical teachers in culturally appropriate ways, as well as through creating safe spaces and/or "female friendly" spaces within the sciences. This gave them an edge to act within a male dominated space. While partaking in "hard core" sciences for women is more threatening to patriarchy, I recognize these women's agency in choosing and creating what they deem "safe" spaces within sciences which have traditionally excluded them. In finding safe spaces within sciences, these women exercise agency to embrace rather than alienate themselves from science within a scientific culture in which as Harding argues, "to become scientifically illiterate is simply to be illiterate" (1991, p. 55).

Sixthly, the women pushed back on domination and coped in male dominated spaces by directly confronting oppressive powers, paying them back in the same currency and/or giving them the proverbial "taste of their own medicine, making friends and/or networks with men as gatekeepers, and appeasing the voyeuristic male gaze on the women's terms. The subjectivities produced within resistance in pushing back within male dominated spaces include the toothless dog, queen bee, and tomboy as spaces of agency for women seeking to avoid group-based discrimination. Yet such subjectivities also re-inscribed gendered relations by shoring up masculine ways being.

Lastly, in developing their own modes of resistance to sexual abuse, the women repudiated sexualisation at work and in school spaces. Public rejection and confrontation were measures to publicly shame and discipline men. Yet the confrontational nature of these strategies risked rocking the boat in ways that could be detrimental for some women. Women lower in the hierarchy made use of more subtle means well aware of their vulnerable position within the work place. Some "softer" approaches deployed include ignoring sexual advances, indulging men in a "harmless" hug, and talking back to men in jocular ways. These to an extent warded off sexual advances also keeping cordial work relations, since men's gatekeeping positions influence women's access to institutional power. While "softer" resistance approaches worked in some ways, they did little to unsettle power relations which enable the

sexualisation of women in the work place. The hard approaches however, risk isolating women in spaces where men dominantly hold the reins of power. The conundrum in warding off sexual advances, while maintaining collegiality in workspaces where men yield so much power remains a conundrum. As much as scholars are cognizant and critical of sexual harassment in its explicit and implicit forms, dealing with it in a practical sense within workspaces where women are virtually powerless is not so straightforward. This notwithstanding, girls at university found agency by deploying their sexual power to get their male lecturers to pass them and pay their tuition. In so doing, the girls made it through school in a socio-cultural context where illiteracy is a position almost inherently of powerless*ness*. Agentic sexual scripts have been problematized for predicating women's worth on cultural appraisals of their sexuality (Bay-Cheng, 2015). Yet sexual agency has been illuminated as a legitimate form of agency for women in American and Anglo-European contexts to further their own agendas (Lerum & Dworkin, 2015; Tolman et al., 2015). Similarly, women as described in my study, drawing on sexual agency scripts, transgressed norms of gendered moralizing and/or propriety to remake their realities using the power available to them. This appropriation of women's agency complicates the moralist one-dimensional coding of women's sexuality as either virtuous (virgin) or licentious (slut/whore), providing insights into women's sexual agency beyond a moralizing discourse.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

This study set out to disrupt and complicate the pervasive victim narrative that dominantly produces women in the global South (Abu-Lughod, 2013; Mahmood, 2005; Mohanty, 1984; Spivak, 1988), illuminating the complexity, diversity, and multiplicity in their realities. In concluding the study, I make six arguments. Firstly, that far from unitary victim subjects, non-Western women as demonstrated in my study have diverse and complex realities, which intersect with, but also deviate from Western women. Secondly, that there is multiplicity in cultural understandings of

agency, which I demonstrate by highlighting some agentic scripts. Thirdly, that agency as my study illuminates is mediated by values, desires and practices of specific communities. Fourthly, that performing femininity in the guise powerlessness, which is the overriding approach produced by my study as a form of agentic script to refashion women's realities, is potent because of its elusiveness to power. Fifthly, that the use of trajectories as a methodology for researching agency in relation to women's lives makes visible women's fluidity within power structures dispelling monolithic representations. Sixthly, that stories on resistance to the gender order can inform pedagogy, specifically in terms of providing stories about "real" Ugandan women to be used to teach about gender.

My first argument illuminates the women's diverse complex realities and subjectivities, dispelling the dominant victim narrative. The women narrated stories of dreams, passions, desires and ambition to partake of diverse professions. They navigated gendered power arrangements in school such as gender discrimination, pregnancy, polygamy, alcoholism, divorce, lack of tuition, and single parenting that threatened their schooling. Inspired by variant factors such as role models, opportunities, parent's encouragement, and their own passions, the women resisted dominant discourses, which interpellated them as mainly nurturers within a context where women are valued as such. The staggering growth of women's participation in higher education as well as their aspirations as young girls to join the work force in Uganda strongly indicates that Ugandan women are active and determined to stay in the public sphere rather than limit themselves to traditional roles of homemaking. As such, they trouble universalistic labels of women from the global South as poor, uneducated, tradition bound and inherently victimized (Mohanty, 2003; Stone-Mediatore, 1998).

This notwithstanding, the women struggled for cultural acceptance in male dominated fields both in school and in academia. This corroborates research on the underrepresentation of women in academia in Uganda and elsewhere (Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016; Kwesiga, 2002). It also echoes the gendered nature of subject choice (Muhwezi, 2003; Paechter, 2007). This notwithstanding, the trajectories of the female scientists in these male dominated spaces illuminated diversity and complexity. The category of "tomboy", normatively used to describe girls who "act like boys" (Pascoe, 2007), as well as the "girly girls" who don attributes of emphasized femininity (Connell, 1987) disturbed normative constructions of "the" female scientist, as well notions of a universal female victim subject.

Women's narratives about working within academia—a pervasively male dominated space, suggest struggles like childcare, physical inadequacy, sexual harassment, gendered discrimination and male insubordination. These gendered

concerns have been documented across Western and non-Western cultures. Yet some of the women pointed out the alliance with some men in helping them navigate these struggles, troubling constructions of African men as inherently perpetrators of African women's victimhood. This, in resonance with Spivak (1988)'s interrogation of idea of white men saving brown women from brown men, displaces pervasive images which evoke danger through producing Black/Brown men as a threat.

Overall, I argue that that while power networked through discourses within patriarchal regimes works in the interest of oppressing women, they experience and navigate these gendered arrangements, producing diverse realities, and/or a spectrum of subjectivities. Such realities and subjectivities exceed a monolithic subject, highlighting the extant complexity, diversity, and multiplicity of women in the non-Western world. Also accentuated through the women's lived experiences is the feminist maxim that the personal is political (Oksala, 2014; Stone-Mediatore, 1998), given that what might have been thought of as individual realities have been illuminated as social issues that shape the lives of both non-Western, as well as Western women. I emphasize nonetheless that while my study problematizes and displaces an inherent victim narrative used to produce non-Western women, it does not replace this with celebratory narratives of empowered and/or liberated Ugandan woman. Rather, I foreground the women's individual as well as collective struggles in negotiating the gender order, emphasizing their ongoing struggles, efforts, and achievements.

My second argument suggests that while there are intersections in agentic scripts, there is also multiplicity in cultural understandings of agency given the needs, desires and capacities of culturally and historically located subjects (Abu-Lughod, 2013). Consequently, in negotiating the gender order, the women took up both culturally sensitive as well as normative agentic scripts. I stress here that even in taking these scripts up, the battle was not won, as women continue to struggle against patriarchy.

Education was one of the scripts taken up by the women to attain agency. In resisting the precariousness of teaching at lower level in Uganda, these women returned to school, attaining postgraduate qualifications, which earned most of them positions as teacher educators within the university. Teaching at the university, which is male dominated, is associated with the autonomy in choice of teaching content, and schedule, as explained by the women. It provided possibility for the women, most of them mothers and wives, to spend more time with their families. Agency then, was located in remaking their realities in ways that enabled these women to partake in public as well as private home spaces, enacting care in a context where even the women themselves valorise their role as mothers. Education also afforded some of the

women agency to navigate gendered structures—"to sit among men"—espousing them in ways that provided space to negotiate their reality—making decisions, improving financial prospects, and inspiring their children. Education was indeed a rallying point of power for both the women and their educated mothers, affording them possibility to exercise power within their homes, in ways that eluded their uneducated counterparts. The possibility of taking on work in public spaces in order to fend for their families disturbed societal discourses that essentialise women and men's roles, producing male as providers and women as nurturers. Women as such could straddle both public spaces in their professional roles and attend to the private, nurturing their families. This has been problematized for the "double shift" placed on women, who end up working full-time job at work and in the home, leaving gendered power relations intact. Yet, at the same time, it creates a space in which women do not just fit into male structures—to become just like men—work-oriented, and free from childcare responsibilities. Rather in straddling both the public and private, women find a space to remake a work culture, creating possibility that engenders things that matter to them.

Covert resistance was another agentic script through which the women wrestled gendered power arrangements. Rather than confront power head-on, the women made use of what might appear as passiveness. Introspectively raising questions rather passively accepting the gender order, the women critically interrogated the status quo. Additionally, through working hard, most of the women took the reins, shaping their realities within conditions in which they had minimal control. Through forging networks with diverse gatekeepers in different school spaces, the women created possibility to elude gendered powers that might have ejected them from school. They generally found agency in covert resistance, silently trudging on within conditions where outright and/or direct resistance would have been punitively disciplined and silenced, creating conditions that are more oppressive. Connell legitimizes covert resistance affirming, "challenges to patriarchy need not involve head-on confrontation" (2008, p. 60). Indeed, well aware of contextual readings of head-on and/or overt resistance, the women (girls at the time), largely stuck to silence well aware that talking back, would have been futile, risking to cast them into precariousness, rather than make spaces to navigate oppressive gendered arrangements. While this could be read differently within normative spaces, silence in these stories is not passive, but is used to actively interrogate power structures, while working within those structures to create possibility. Silence for marginalized groups, as Jones affirms, "may be a rational response to their (dominant) peer's lack of ability to hear and understand" (2010, p. 60).

Interrogating the valorisation of marriage, some women navigated discourses that produce marriage as very important for them, in a context in which it is deemed as a rite of passage especially for women (Ayiga & Rampagane, 2013; Lovell, 2010; Muhanguzi, 2011). They questioned the notions of propriety imbued in good wife material discourses for stifling women's personalities, producing meek subjectivities, to be controlled within hierarchical marriage arrangements. Further, using counter-narratives the women illuminated realities in some Ugandan marriages, disrupting happy-ever-after and/marriage-as-a-bed-of-roses discourses. Silence was also deployed within their marriages, giving some women reins to ensure peace in potentially explosive situations in which power relations were skewed. Silence as interpreted by the women themselves, involved active engagement with, and, rejection and/or covert resistance to gender norms. This reading of silence as a form of resistance within contexts where in fact voice might be dis-enabling, is linked to a body of post-structural scholarship that troubles the privileging of voice over silence (Baxter, 2003; Boler, 2004; McClure et al., 2010) . Nonetheless, this reading of silence as resistance within my findings should not foreclose the interrogation of power structures, which "impose" silence as the most "safe" means of resistance.

Overt resistance and/or outright rejection was also taken up as a script for some of the women to unsettle dominant discourses of marriage as very important for women. This was achieved through suspending marriage in order to pursue career, postponing marriage until financially independent, rejecting polygamous marital arrangements and waiting on God for the right spouse. The recourse to God gave them the reins and/or some form of control and/or possibility in appealing to a higher power in engaging with their reality in spaces where they have minimal control. In yearning to get married, nevertheless, the women in my study reproduce the traditional script of women's desire to get married. However, they modify this script illuminating the desire to get married *but* on their terms—to a man who respects her dreams, one who would understand her family obligations, and one who would not require her to garden. This re-appropriation of a dominant traditional narrative accentuates their agency.

Further, by holding on to their marital dividend, some of the women, recognizing the power imbued in marriage in Uganda, passed off as married women even though they had dysfunctional marriages. This made it possible for them to keep their children in two-parent homes, giving them the stability that this idea evokes. Also guaranteed was financial security for the children, in a country where the economy is strained. While this reproduces the polarizing of gender roles, and the gender relations that stem from this, it is a crevice of agency through which the women deployed the power available to them to espouse their children. In a context

where children's failure is attributed to women's parenting, these women found agency in ensuring the well-being of their families, contrary to discourses which produce motherhood as inherently oppressive and exploitative for women (Beasley, 1999; Evans, 2013). The women make use of specific coping strategies in "sticking in" these marriages-gone-bad, such as interrogating their circumstances, holding on to the positive such as the wellbeing of their children, keeping themselves busy, and praying to God. Passing off as married then removes the stigma that comes with the shame for having failed to keep their marriages together.

Further still, through the promise of diming their light to avert the risk of outshining their husbands, the women deployed agency, garnering support from their husbands—against the grain of society, to let them pursue higher education. In diming their light as such, women created spaces in which the power relations seemingly remain intact, to enable them partake of the power embodied in higher education. The women dimed their light in a myriad of ways—reassurances to their spouses that it was just a qualification which would not change them as wives; involving their husbands in the PhD in order to ensure collective ownership; showing the man that he remains above and encouraging him to pursue further studies. These women rode on the reassurance to their spouses that they would "leave their PhDs at the door"—a saying commonly used in Uganda for highly qualified women, who must "leave" their qualifications, positions, status at the door before entering their homes to submissively serve their husbands. Diming their light so that they can pursue their dreams, assuaged the fear bound up with a highly accomplished woman, who is necessarily "big-headed" and thus uncontrollable. There is agency in diming their light so as to create possibility of a stable home for their children and to hold onto their marriages, while also partaking of power imbued in higher education, in a context where marriage and children are indeed a measure of success, and, where a failed marriage is blamed largely on the wife. While I recognize the agency in finding spaces within which women can act, I argue that the conditions, which foreclose women's active and open engagement, should continually be exposed and interrogated.

The refashioning of cultural practices to fit women's desires as expressed in the proliferation of "modern" ssengas in Uganda today as described in the women's narratives is another agentic script taken up by the women. The bridal shower, a Western import, has been used as a space for ssengas to give the bride-to-be and her friends the last tips before the wedding. This space, free of some cultural encumbrances in which the ssenga as absolute authority traditionally talked down to girls, has provided conditions for women to take up their agency, questioning and pushing back on cultural practices they read as oppressive. Women have as such, used

their agency to remake cultural practices in ways that work for them, making it possible to straddle public and private spaces in this modern age. Nonetheless, the discursive absence of men preparing other men in regard to sexuality in marriage is glaring. Read against the pervasive initiation of women into womanhood by other women, largely in service of future husbands, evokes discourses of marriage as very important for women, and male as superior. This also substantiates Geisler's assertion that indeed, "African women have sometimes appeared as the custodians of tradition and thus the agents of their own subordination" (2000, P. 57). Yet, there is agency in the idea that women take an active role in regulating their own sexuality, and in remaking these practices to suit them as demonstrated in the women's stories.

Further still, using public rejection and confrontation, some of the women publicly shamed and disciplined men who sexually harassed them at the workplace. Yet, confrontational strategies risked rocking the boat in ways that could be detrimental to women lower in institutional hierarchy. Such women made use of more subtle means, well aware of their vulnerable position within the work place. Subtle and/"softer" approaches such as ignoring sexual advances, talking back to the men in jocular ways, and indulging men in a "harmless" hug sometimes warded off sexual advances while also keeping amiable and/or cordial work relations, recognizing that men's gatekeeping positions shape women's own access to institutional power. These softer resistance approaches however, did little to unsettle the power relations which make sexual harassment possible. The hard approaches on the other hand, risked isolating women in spaces where men dominantly held the reins of power. The conundrum in warding off sexual advances while maintaining collegiality in workspaces where men yield so much power remains an enigma. As much as scholars are cognizant and critical of sexual harassment in its explicit and implicit forms, dealing with it practically within workspaces where women are virtually powerless is not so straightforward. This has implications for further research given as my study showed, that sexual abuse cuts across hierarchy.

In deploying their sexual power some university girls within the women's stories got men to pay their tuition, earning them an education in a socio-cultural context where illiteracy is a position almost inherently of powerless*ness*. Using spaces of marginality, girls found crevices in which to exercise their agency, providing sexual favours to male lecturers in exchange for good grades. Sexual power was also deployed to get some women desired job transfers to spaces where they could be close to their families as well as to more future prospects. Agentic sexual scripts have been problematized especially within the neoliberal frame, for predicating women's worth on cultural appraisals of their sexuality (Bay-Cheng, 2015). Yet sexual agency has been illuminated as a legitimate form of agency for women in American and Anglo-

European contexts to further their own agendas (Lerum & Dworkin, 2015; Tolman et al., 2015). Similarly, the women as described in my study, drawing on sexual agency scripts, transgressed norms of gendered moralizing and/or propriety to remake their realities using the power available to them.

In crossing gender boundaries, the women transgressed the gender roles script, despite attracting ridicule from some members of their community. However, both the girls who took on traditionally male roles, and the fathers who took on traditionally female roles did it in the absence of males and females respectively, illuminating limits to transgression. The girls also crossed gender boundaries by taking on sciences, disrupting gender arrangements which gazette this as a male space. They found agency in outperforming boys in these subjects, garnering support of sceptical teachers, as well as through creating safe spaces and/or "female friendly" spaces within the sciences. While I would argue that partaking in "hard core" sciences for women is more threatening to patriarchy, I recognize these women's agency in choosing and creating what they deem "safe" spaces within sciences, which have traditionally excluded them. In finding safe spaces within sciences, these women exercise agency to embrace rather than alienate themselves from science within a scientific culture in which as Harding argues, "to become scientifically illiterate is simply to be illiterate" (1991, p. 55).

Further still, the women pushed back on domination and/or coped in male dominated spaces such as in mixed schools as well as male dominated work spaces, by directly facing off with oppressive powers, paying them back in the same currency and/or giving them the proverbial "taste of their own medicine," making friends and/or networks with men as gatekeepers, and appeasing the voyeuristic male gaze on the women's terms. The subjectivities produced within resistance in pushing back within male dominated spaces include the toothless dog, queen bee, and tomboy as spaces of agency for women who sought to avoid group-based discrimination (Ellemers et al., 2004; Sutton et al., 2006). I argue that feminist liberal ideals, which focus on bringing women from the "margins" into the "centre," without transforming the problematics and/or power relations therein, serve to reproduce the very same marginalization of women at the hands of other women. Such subjectivities also re-inscribe gendered relations by shoring up masculine ways being. Nonetheless, the diversity therein unsettles the pervasive victim narrative dominantly used to produce African women. Overall, my study moves research on agency forward by illuminating other discursive agentic possibilities.

My third argument is agency as my study illuminates, is mediated by values, desires and practices of specific communities. The desire to have children within monogamous religious marriage arrangements is not only a measure of success as

conceived by the society in Uganda, but as also as conceived by the women in my study. Except for the nun, the rest of the women and their mothers valorised family. Indeed agency for most of the women was located in ticking the marriage-children-achievement-box. This is a departure from Western conceptions of empowerment which perceive of family obligations as a source of patriarchal oppression for women (Beasley, 1999; Evans, 2013; Gonzalez et al., 2013). Saba Mahmood, writing about the women in Egypt who were seeking to become pious Muslims affirms, "The desire for freedom and liberation is a historically situated desire whose motivational force cannot be assumed a priori, but needs to be reconsidered in light of other desires, aspirations, and capacities that inhere in a culturally and historically located subject" (2001, p. 223). In other words, different types of desires are meaningful to different people as also well-articulated in Abu-Lughod's questions: "might other desires be more meaningful for different groups of people? Living in close families? Living in a godly way?"(2013, p. 788). Citing her extensive fieldwork in Egypt, she affirms, "I cannot think of a single woman I know from the poorest rural to the most educated cosmopolitan, who has ever expressed envy of U.S. women, women they tend to perceive as bereft of community, vulnerable to sexual violence and social anomie, driven by individual success rather than morality, or strangely disrespectful of God" (Abu-Lughod, 2013, p. 788). In this way, Abu-Lughod makes a case for locating agency in ways that the women in my study hold true. In navigating gendered regimes as such, the women found agency in spaces in which they could straddle public and private spaces in the service of their families.

In the fourth argument, I highlight the salience of agency as embodied in performing femininity in the guise of powerfulness, which is the overriding approach produced by this study. I argue that the potency within forms of resistance which take contingencies of context into consideration, is in their slipperiness and/or elusiveness to power. While radical acts of resistance can reshape reality, they are also more visible, recognizable and vulnerable to power. Performing femininity in the guise of powerlessness as a form of agency also unsettles the privileging of a particular normative ethic within feminist understandings of agency which upholds the feminist agentival subject as imbued with liberal humanist values described by Madhok as "the intellectual lens...of individualism, self-sufficiency, voluntarism, unencumeredness and free action" (Madhok, 2010, as cited in Evans, 2013, p. 49). Evans decries this agentic script for its basis on male behaviour—"the autonomous male actor, the individual who assumes responsibility for his own moral and social position but is not beset by ties or responsibilities to others" (2013, p. 52). Implicated here is the gendering of agency, enacted through implicit and explicit masculine/male ideals. Such ideals, which fit the neoliberal template of self-sufficiency and individualism

(Wilson, 2013) more likely to be embodied by men, are likely to elude women whose subjectivities are largely bound up with care.

The normative repertoire of the agentic subject as individual rights, self-improvement, self-empowerment and the performance of individual agency (Evans, 2013), is disturbed in my study which shows instances of both the normative as well as another repertoire which emphasizes relationality, pluralism, collectiveness, communality. This blurs polarized notions of agency, which pervasively dichotomize agentic scripts—individualism as western and collectivism as non-Western, illuminating the ways in which the women in my study slide between these scripts. An agentic script which emphasizes relationality displaces notions of self-sufficiency, voluntarism, unencumeredness and freeness of action, making it intelligible to locate agency within women's epistemological and ontological frames, which include the ethic of care. Indeed the women in my study, far from lone rangers in remaking their reality, leant on other people. The sections on girls and their fathers, men as allies in male dominated spaces, as well as partaking of power in academia are examples of explicit narratives about the networks and relations on which the women drew support in navigating gendered constraints. Indeed as Madhok et al. point out, the constraints relate to social, not just personal power relations, highlighting "the need to shift from the more exclusive focus on individual capacities and vulnerabilities to wider power regimes within which we operate**"** (2013, p. 7). The attempts to reframe agency as such, with emphasis on collective rather than the more exclusive focus on individual action is substantiated by my findings.

I argue then, that we shift our theoretical gaze in regard to agency towards exploring less overt forms of agency. This departs from emphasis on speech practices for example as proposed by Madhok, who advocates a "displacement of the chief site of agency from free acts to speech practices and ethical reflection" (2013, p. 116). My study draws attention to silence and reflection as a mode of resistance, decrying radical modes of resistance which draw visibility and can be quickly quashed into oblivion. Resistance to hegemonic norms as such can be ascribed to a whole range of human actions, including those which may be outside liberal normative ideals of freedom and/or progressive politics. Rather than turn restrictive norms on their heads through radical acts of transgression, the women in my study chose agentic scripts that eluded power but from within existing socio-cultural forms of interaction. While this form of agency indeed reproduced relations of subjugation, it also identified and weakened feeble points within the web of power embodied in norms.

The fifth argument indicates my methodological contribution to researching agency. My study takes research on agency forward in terms of methodology, by making use of a trajectory in researching women's lives. This goes beyond previous

studies which focus on a snapshot in women's lives. The trajectory makes visible the women's movements through powerful and less powerful discursive positions showing the complexity in their realities, which cannot be reduced to a unitary subject. This as belaboured, also makes visible the intersections as well as diversities among women from the global South as well as global North. It is through shared experiences that the personal is not only politicized, but also that forms of resistance previously invisible, are brought to light. Indeed, as Mohanty affirms, "efforts to remember and to re-narrate everyday experiences of domination and resistance, and to situate these experiences in relation to broader historical phenomena, can contribute to oppositional consciousness that is more than a mere counter stance" (1991, p. 34).

Further, in unpacking discourses which informed the teacher educators' stories, my study draws attention to the ways in which relations of inequality continue to structure our lives. This as such, illuminated both the cultural conditions, as well as the forms of agency which they make possible and/or foreclose, buttressing the idea that agency emanates from conditions of domination and/or inequality, and is as such not antithetical to those conditions. Indeed, as emphasized by Madhok et al. "agency is always exercised within constraints, that inequality is an ever present component (2013, p. 7). As well articulated by Phipps (2014) then, we need not focus on women's agency and identity without examining framing structures which produce women's complicities in gendered oppression. As such, my study problematizes and interrogates the discursive frames and/or gendered power relations that make agency possible *but* only from within interstices of subjugation, foreclosing other forms of agency.

Nonetheless, I argue that this focus on agency undermines any criticism of agentic practices chosen by subjects to achieve their ends, using the logic that such critiques could curtail agency. This as such obscures other ethical concerns as was the case in my study of the girls who improved their grades or had their tuition paid by their professors in exchange for sexual favours. In this moment as in many others within the study, the focus on agency fell short of examining ethical issues surrounding some agentic scripts. As well articulated by Widdows, "the choice model silences and reduces concerns about exploitation and the abuse of the vulnerable on the grounds that even if vulnerable, a choice was made" (2013, p. 160). Widdows proposes that ensuring ethical practice would require moving beyond the choice paradigm to not only question, "are these practices chosen? But rather should these practices ever be chosen (and if so when)?" (2013, p. 163). Yet, I would argue that interrogating the women's choices risks reproducing paternalism, which notions of agency set out to dismantle. This remains a conundrum for future research to engage.

My sixth argument is that these narratives, based on Ugandan women's gendered lived experiences can inform the teaching of courses on gender and women's studies within teacher education as well as other programs locally in Uganda and internationally. The struggles and lives of "real" Ugandan women not only dispel the pervasive idea of gender equality as a Western import (Tamale, 2011) but also provide real stories of agency in action, to which some Ugandan women can relate. These narratives can as such be used to teach students in place of "facts" and "statistics" which dominantly inform knowledge on gender in Uganda. Indeed as Sensoy and Marshall (2010) illuminate, the paucity of books about the Middle East has meant that students and teachers circulate the pervasive victim narrative that pervades the literature on Muslim girls after the terrorist attacks of September 2011 in the US. In recognizing as well articulated by Sensoy and Marshall that there is "no one text, story or narrative that could unproblematically represent 'others'"(2010, p. 308), my study documents trajectories of women as narrated by women themselves, providing insights about Ugandan women's lives as complex subjects with diverse realities. These stories and /or counter-stories as Andrews makes mention, "which members of out-groups tell to themselves and others, help to document, and perhaps even validate, a 'counter-reality'" (2004, p. 2). Such stories provide a space from which to question internalized grand narratives about emancipation.

Mohanty appeals to feminist activists and teachers to "struggle with themselves and each other to open the world with all its complexity to their students" (2003, p. 530). She problematizes the politics of knowledge in current women's and feminist studies courses. Such courses are either grounded in assumptions that the United States and/or Western European nation-states provide a normative context (feminist-as-tourist model) or that international and/or non-Western contexts are entirely separate from the US (feminist-as-explorer model). In criticizing the feminist-as-tourist model as a paradigm in which "feminism is always/already constructed as Euro-American in origin and development, women's struggles outside this geographical context only serve to confirm or contradict this originary feminist (master) narrative" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 519). Implicit in this pedagogical approach which remains predominant is the construction of difference as well as the creation of monolithic images of Third World/Global South women who are contrasted with empowered, rational, self-regulating, autonomous, complex Euro-American women who are central subjects within such a curricular standpoint**.** In the feminist-as-explorer model on the other hand, "the 'foreign' woman is the object and subject of knowledge and the larger intellectual project is entirely about countries other than the United States. Thus the local and global are defined as non-Euro-American…This strategy can result in students and teachers being left with a notion of difference and

separateness, a sort of 'us' and 'them' attitude" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 520). Mohanty proposes a feminist solidarity and/or comparative feminist studies model "that shows the interconnectedness of the histories, experiences, and struggles of U.S. women of colour, white women, and women from the Third World/South."(2003, p.522) In this approach, each historical experience illuminates the experiences of others, simultaneously illuminating individual and collective experiences of oppression and exploitation as well as struggle and resistance. This as Mohanty proposes is a move away from the " 'add and stir' and relativist 'separate but equal'(or different) perspective to the complication/solidarity one" (2003, p. 522). In heeding Mohanty's call therefore, the women's trajectories as presented in my study can inform such a pedagogical project. This is because the stories allow students and teachers to see complexities, particularities, multiplicities simultaneously making visible interconnections between women as well as illuminating power, discourses, subjectivities and agency in ways that can be engaged within gender and women studies courses. Mohanty highlights the possibility that can stem when we "rethink, remember, and utilize our lived relations as a basis of knowledge" (1991, p. 34). This fits in with curriculum development in the postmodern era, which is attentive to autobiographical perspective, as well as interconnectedness of experience (Miller, 2005; Pinar et al., 1995; Slattery, 2006).

As a former teacher and currently a teacher of educator of English and literature at a university in Uganda, I envision the educational opportunity in using these narrative to disrupt hegemonic gendered discourses lay in the texts used to teach General paper, English (and other languages) as well as literature specifically in Ugandan schools. The ways in which gender is represented in Ugandan textbooks has been problematized as constructing passive, nurturing, emotional, trivial females who are invested in physical appearances, vis-à-vis active, intelligent, rational males (Barton & Sakwa, 2012). In heeding recommendations to deconstruct gendered school textbooks, scholars are invested in disrupting the invisibility and marginalization of women in textbooks (Davies, 2003; Kuzmic, 2000; Lee & Collins, 2009; Lee, 2014; Rifkin, 1998; Zittleman & Sadker, 2002). My study provides narratives that can inform stories in students' as well as teacher educators' textbooks. This however, has implications for teacher education to prepare teachers cognizant of the workings of power, to inform text selection, development and teaching using such texts in the classroom.

Specifically in regard to teacher education in Uganda, I recommend a compulsory gender and/or women studies course for all pre-service teachers. Rather than focus on "facts", statistics, gender neutrality as well as equal opportunities discourses which pervade teacher talk in regard to gender equality, I propose a focus

on the workings of gendered power relations. I argue that illuminating how power and gendered discourses work to constitute and foreclose particular subjectivities is likely to engender reflexivity, helping teachers check the ways in which gendered power relations work to enable and/disenable their students. This approach is useful in developing a critical gender perspective in which teachers can recognise their own, as well as others' complicity in perpetrating oppressive gender relations. My findings can inform the crafting of a course on gender studies in which teacher educators engage with the materiality of women's realities (chapter 4), how discourses constitute gendered subjects (chapter 5) and the workings of agency in negotiating discourses and/or power relations (chapter 6). The pre-service teachers would then be tasked to provide examples from their own experiences to illuminate the application of such narratives about the workings of power within the classroom.

7.1. Limitations and Pointers for Further Research

Performing femininity in the guise of powerlessness as a dominant model of agency within the Ugandan context as illuminated in this study, offers little protection to women who have to "give up" power in order to conquer as it were. It seems to reify female vulnerability as a tool for women to gain power. In this way, it reproduces gendered power relations in which males "allow" women to partake of "their" power, and that by implication, such power can be rescinded by the males. Further, while this model emerged from the trajectories of female teacher educators illuminating their slippages within discursive fields of powerfulness and/or powerlessness, I recognise that research with "third" world women within the Third World, might provide nuances in their enactments of agency.

Further, Abu-Lughod (1990) rightfully problematizes the focus on agency and/or resistance, while ignoring the examination of power. Drawing from Foucault, she argues that resistance should be used as a diagnostic of power. She suggests that rather than romanticize resistance alone, researchers should also highlight what different forms of resistance can reveal about historically shifting power relations. In her words, "we can use resistance as a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations…we could continue to look for…all sorts of resistance, but instead of taking these as signs of human freedom, we will use them strategically to tell us more about forms of power and how people are caught up in them" (Abu-Lughod, 1990, p. 42). Using her study of a Bedouin community in Egypt's Western desert, she used resistance to illuminate the traditional structures of power in that community. For example, through identifying the sexually segregated women's spaces as sites of resistance, she illuminated the forms of power (prohibitions and restrictions), which

these women complied with in public spaces but subverted in their separate spheres. Following this, further research should go beyond a focus on resistance to also highlight the forms of power which resistance diagnoses. Resistance in my study for example, diagnosed forms of power deployed through codes of propriety, valorisation of marriage, men's control over resources, ideology of sex difference, hierarchical gendered arrangements. This approach is likely to illuminate the extant power relations women are caught up in within the local also making visible the overlaps with power relations within the global, given globalization and neoliberal logics, as thus illuminating the ways in which Ugandan women are involved in structures of domination. This would be useful in detecting "historical shifts and configurations or methods of power" (Abu-Lughod, 2013, p. 48). I argue then, that a focus on how power is continuously taken up and/or reproduced must be paid attention to. Indeed as Davies adds understanding of the workings of power "must be part of any groups' understanding as it attempts to move beyond oppressive forms of gender relations." (2003, p. 200).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Letter of Permission

Dear (insert school administrator's name),

Request for your Permission to Conduct Research in Your University

I am a Doctoral student in the Centre for Research on Culture and Gender at Gent University in Belgium. I am writing to request for permission to undertake my research with female teacher educators within your university.

I am interested in the lived experiences of female teacher educators like myself, to find out how they have navigated their way. I hope that the findings from my study will inform gender and teacher education in Uganda.

I have attached a participant information sheet explaining the nature of the study to my potential participants. A consent form is also attached, for them to give me permission to interview them. The form also includes a description of their rights as participants in my study.

I will really appreciate your help, and look forward to working with you.

Yours faithfully,

Lydia Lynette Namatende

PhD student, Center for Research on Culture and Gender, Gent University, Belgium

Phone: 0772680303; Email:Lydia.namatende@ugent.be

Appendix B: Letter of Invitation to Teacher Educators

Dear ____

Request for Your Participation in My Study

You are being invited to participate in a study which is part of my Doctoral research in the Center for Research on Culture and Gender at Gent University in Belgium.

What: The overall aim of the study is to find out female teacher educators' experiences around gender in their personal as well as classroom lives.

Who: Female teacher educators (insert English language or physics).

When: (December –March 2016)

How: I hope to interview you about your experiences of gender as a child at home, in school, university, the work place. The interview will be conversational, sharing our experiences, and asking questions when you want to. I take this opportunity to assure you that participation is voluntary. I also guarantee confidentiality. A consent form is attached. Kindly remember to fill it in and email it to: Lydia.namatende@ugent.be or keep it for collection at a time of your convenience. You can also reach me on 0772680303 to pick it up whenever you are ready.

Yours sincerely,

Lydia Lynette Namatende

PhD student, Center for Research on Culture and Gender, Gent University, Belgium

Phone: 0772680303

Email:Lydia.namatende@ugent.be

Appendix C: Letter of Informed Consent

Center for Research on Culture and Gender
Gent University
Belgium

Principal Investigator: Lydia Namatende
Promotor: Prof. Dr. Chia Longman
Research Title: Studying Teachers' Gendered Lived Experiences

• I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the purposes and procedures regarding this study.

• My participation in this research research is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw from participation at any time without jeopardy.

• Any information derived from the research project that personally identifies me will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.

• If at any time I have any questions regarding the research or my participation, I can contact the interviewer who will answer my questions. The interviewer's email address is lydia.namatende@ugent.be.

• If at any time I have comments, or concerns regarding the conduct of the research or questions about my rights as a research subject, I should contact the

researcher's primary sponsor, Prof. Dr. Chia Longman, Center for Research on Culture and Gender, Gent University, Belgium on email address chia.longman@ugent.be

• If audio-taping is part of this research, the written, and/or audio taped materials will be viewed only by the principal investigator and members of the dissertation committee.

I ( ) consent to be audio taped. I ( ) do NOT consent to being audio taped.

• Written and/or audio taped materials

( ) may be viewed in an educational setting outside the research

( ) may NOT be viewed in an educational setting outside the research.

• My signature means that I agree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature: ___ Date: _/_____/_____ Name: _____
_____

Appendix D: Semi-structured Interview Guide

Good afternoon/morning,

Thank you again for your interest in my study and for agreeing to participate. The interview will last at least an hour. You may withdraw from the study at any time and/or choose not to answer certain questions. If you should say something that you consider especially sensitive that you would not want to be in a report, please feel free to tell me so. As indicated in the letter of consent, I will treat all interviews and discussions with you as strictly confidential. For example, I will not use your name in any written report. I will always use pseudonyms or codes to replace your name and the names of anyone you should mention. With your permission, I would like to record this interview to have an accurate record of

our conversation. Is that ok with you? ___ yes __ no

If at any time you are uncomfortable with what's being recorded, you can reach over and press the stop button or ask me to do so.

Before we get started, is there anything more you might want to know about the study?

_____ yes __ no

I'd like to start by asking you some background information about you as a teacher educator.

I am interested in stories about women in becoming who we are today. This will be more of a conversation than an interview in the traditional sense. I will pose questions which we both, as female teacher educators will engage with, exchanging stories. You are also encouraged to ask questions. The topics to be discussed will provide opportunities to talk about your home as a child, your school, university, marriage and children (if at all), work, future plans.

Questions

1. How long have you taught at the university? Who and what do you teach?

2. I remember teaching at university, and I felt proud to be associated with this university. It felt like an achievement in and of itself. Tell me, what does it feel like to teach in such a big university? What do you like about it? What do you dislike?
3. How did you get this position? Were there any obstacles to getting it? Is it something that you actually wanted to do? If yes, why, and if not, what did you want to do? Why did you not do what you originally wanted?
4. What are your future plans in regard to your career? Work? Family? Personal life? Why? What are the likely obstacles? How (if at all) do you plan to navigate them?
5. As a young girl growing up in Uganda, my ambitions shifted at different stages in my life because of enabling and disenabling factors. Could you share your story in this regard?
6. Most of my own school experience was in catholic schools all through. I started off in a mixed pre-primary and primary school where I stayed until P.3. In P. 4, my dad took me to a convent single sex girls' school managed and run by nuns. I think it was this idea that I would learn to be independent, and indeed we were taught to be "girls"—cooking, cleaning, digging, walking long distances to fetch water—it was a lot. I went through another single sex school all through secondary. I wonder, what kinds of schools did you attend? Did you get the sense that there was gendered division of labour (that is work for boys and girls), gendered subject choice, roles? Did this affect you in any way? What is your opinion on this? How differently (if at all) were girls treated compared to boys in your mixed school?
7. A friend of mine who was in Budo told me stories of being bullied by boys in school. For example, she talked about how crossing to the girls' dormitories meant they had to pass by the boys' dormitories and the boys used this as an opportunity to shout out all sorts of things to them like "ugly", "fat" etc… I wonder, what were your experiences as a girl in a mixed school?
8. I remember growing up and always being reminded that I had to learn to do certain roles lest my husband got disappointed. I got to do more work at home than my brother. I did not like it and always questioned in my head. Why? But always took some consolation in knowing that I was preparing for my role as a wife and mother and that this was right in some way. Besides there were always stories

like “njabala” to remind one about the consequences of being a lazy girl/woman. How were roles divided in your own home as child growing up? How did you feel about this? How did you negotiate it? How is it in your own home now? How do you think it should be?

9. In my primary boarding school, we were implicitly prepared to be good wives with lots of sayings invoked about our futures as thus. Sexuality was also touched on in a strange way. So girls always run down to the valley to “pull” and there were all these threatening stories that if you did not do this, then the chickens would do it for you in public when you get married. Do you have any such experiences? How did you negotiate them?
10. I remember some of the experiences as a girl in a single sex school and how much we had crushes on some of the male teachers. I remember vividly that one of the teacher most of us thought gorgeous, had a sexual encounter with one of the girls in the last week of primary school. We as a group invaded and interrupted the pair and even run downstairs taking the teacher with us, and reporting him to our class teacher. What are some of your own experiences around teacher treatment of girls and boys in schools?
11. This kind of teacher treatment of girls was also experienced as a student at university where for example, I had a professor who was renowned for his “red carpet” exam for all students who submitted assignments late. He was later reported and had a case to answer in the courts of law. What was it like for you as a girl at university? What other obstacles did you face? How did you negotiate these? In what ways (if at all) were girls treated differently than boys? What obstacles (if at all) did you as a girl face which you think were determined by your sex? How did you (or not) navigate these obstacles?
12. This idea of the “red carpet” was also evoked within the Ministry offices when as teachers, women went to get placements into government schools? What were your own experiences around this? How (if at all) did you navigate the obstacles?
13. What about in the work place? I personally work in a female dominated field, teaching English, and although I have not felt sexually harassed in any way, there have been challenges related to my woman-ness. So for example, travelling all the way to Nkozi to teach all through pregnancy and having to lie on the floor in the office to catch my breath before the next class. That was difficult.

Also the juggling between home, wife-ness, motherhood, work—it is always a lot but you find coping strategies. How has it been for you (in a male dominated discipline—this is aimed at science teachers)? How have you coped (or not)? What challenges did you face at work by virtue of being a woman?

14. Marriage has always been one of those things that seemed on many minds when I was growing up—up till now I must add. I have already told you a bit about primary school. In secondary school we read and fantasied about romance and marriage. In fact I remember one of the nuns advising us to start praying for our husbands right then—praying that they read the right books, made the right friends—generally went through the "right" experiences, baking them right for us. And now that I am married, I remember the "scandal" in leaving my husband to go study. Everyone looked at me like "what? You are risking your marriage?" Have you as a married, dating, single, divorced woman undergone such experiences? How have you negotiated them?
15. I also have a friend who had to return home in the middle of her studies to fetch her children who were suffering now that the man had got a new wife in her absence. So many battles have emanated from the idea of the absentee wife, both because of work, conferences and school. What are your own tales in this regard? What are the stories of navigating these obstacles?